EX LIBRIS
E. R. Glazier

LIVES

OF SEVENTY OF THE MOST EMINENT

PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, AND ARCHITECTS

VOLUME III.

LIVES OF SEVENTY

OF THE MOST EMINENT

PAINTERS, SCULPTORS

AND

ARCHITECTS

BY

GIORGIO VASARI

EDITED AND ANNOTATED IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES

BY

E. H. AND E. W. BLASHFIELD

AND

A. A. HOPKINS

VOLUME III.

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

MCMIX

Copyright, 1896, by
Charles Scribner's Sons

CONTENTS

	PAGE
GIORGIONE DA CASTELFRANCO	1
ANTONIO DA CORREGGIO	13
BRAMANTE DA URBINO	37
FRA BARTOLOMMEO OF SAN MARCO	60
ALBERTINELLI	85
GIULIANO AND ANTONIO DA SAN GALLO	95
RAPHAEL OF URBINO	120
ANDREA DEL SARTO	234
JACOPO PALMA AND LORENZO LOTTO	303
FRA SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO	316
PAOLO CALIARI	340
GIOVANNANTONIO	353
JACOPO ROBUSTI	382
BALDASSARE PERUZZI	397

GIORGIONE DA CASTELFRANCO, VENETIAN PAINTER [1]

[Born 1478; died 1511.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Hermann Lücke, *Giorgione*, in the Dohme series of *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. L. D. de Pontès, *Études sur la Peinture Venétienne et principalement sur le Giorgione*. *Lacroix*, *Revue des Arts*, XXII., Brussels, 1865. Gronau, *Zorzon da Castelfranco, la sua origine, la sua morte e tomba*, Venice, 1894. Alessandro Luzio, *Isabella d' Este e due quadri di Giorgione*, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VI., pp. 47–48, 1888. F. Wickhoff, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1893, Vol. I. P. Molmenti, *Curiosità di Storia Veneziana*, *fasc.* II., *Giorgione*. Camavitto, *La Faniglia di Giorgione da Castelfranco*, *Giornale Arcadico*, 1878. Bernhard Berenson, Venetian Painters, New York, 1894. Conti, *Giorgione*, *Studio*, Florence, 1894. Morelli, Italian Painters, London, 1892. L. W. Schaufuss *Zur Beurtheilung der Gemälde Giorgione's*, Dresden, 1874. C. Yriarte, *A propos d'un tableau attribué au Giorgione*, *Exposition des Old Masters à Londres*, in *L'Art*, XXIX., p. 61, Paris, 1882. One of the best essays in Walter Pater's Renaissance is upon Giorgione.

AT the same time when Florence was acquiring so much renown from the works of Leonardo, the city of Venice obtained no small glory from the talents and excellence of one of her citizens, by whom the Bellini, then held in so much esteem, were very far surpassed, as were all others who had practised painting up to that time in that city. This was Giorgio,[2] born in the year 1478, at Castel-

[1] The name Giorgione means simply "Big George."

[2] It has been claimed that Giorgio Barbarella, or Giorgione, was a natural son of Jacopo Barbarella, a gentleman of a good Venetian family which had made its home in Castelfranco, and that the latter town disputes with the village of Vedelago the honor of being Giorgione's birthplace, as his mother was a peasant girl of the said village. Dr. Gronau (see Bibliography) asserts, on the contrary, that there is no reason for believing that this artist was in any way related to the Barbarella (or Barbarelli) family, and says that the name of Giorgione occurs as early as 1460 (see E. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 598). Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle claim that he was born

franco, in the territory of Treviso, and at the time when Giovanni Mozzenigo, brother to the Doge Piero Mozzenigo, had himself been elected Doge; Giorgio was, at a later period, called Giorgione, as well from the character of his person as for the exaltation of his mind: he was of extremely humble origin, but was nevertheless very pleasing in manner, and most estimable in character through the whole course of his life. Brought up in Venice, he took no small delight in love-passages, and in the sound of the lute, to which he was so cordially devoted, and which he practised so constantly, that he played and sang with the most exquisite perfection, insomuch that he was, for this cause, frequently invited to musical assemblies and festivals by the most distinguished personages. Giorgione selected the art of design, which he greatly loved, as his profession, and was therein so highly favoured by nature, that he gave his whole heart to her beauties; nor would he ever represent any object in his works which he had not copied from the life; so entirely was he subjugated by her charms, and with such fervour did he imitate them, that he not only acquired the reputation of having excelled Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, but of being able to compete with those who were then working in Tuscany, and who were the authors of the modern manner.

Giorgione had seen certain works from the hand of Leonardo, which were painted with extraordinary softness, and thrown into powerful relief, as is said, by extreme darkness of the shadows, a manner which pleased him so much, that he ever after continued to imitate it, and in oil painting approached very closely to the excellence of his model.[3] A zealous admirer of the good in art, Giorgione

before 1477, but no consecutive biography of Giorgione can be written either from records or pictures, as the data are insufficient.

[3] Morelli finds that Vasari's calling Giorgione a student of the works of Leonardo is only the result of a narrow patriotism and of a wish to have all Italian art proceed directly or indirectly from Tuscany; but M. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 600, contradicts Morelli's statement that Giorgione could not have known Leonardo's works. He adduces the following facts: I.

always selected for representation the most beautiful objects that he could find, and these he treated in the most varied manner: he was endowed by nature with highly felicitous qualities, and gave to all that he painted, whether in oil or fresco, a degree of life, softness, and harmony (being more particularly successful in the shadows), which caused all the more eminent artists to confess, that he was born to infuse spirit into the forms of painting, and they admitted that he copied the freshness of the living form [4] more exactly than any other painter, not of Venice only, but of all other places.

In his youth Giorgione painted, in Venice, many very beautiful pictures of the Virgin, with numerous portraits from nature, which are most life-like and beautiful; of this we have proof in three heads of extraordinary beauty, painted in oil by his hand, and which are in the possession of the Most Reverend Grimani, Patriarch of Aquileia: one

That Leonardo was in Venice for some months in 1500, just at the time when both the latter and Giorgione were especial students of chiaroscuro. II. That Solario, Leonardo's pupil and admirer, stayed long in Venice. III. That Leonardo's master, Verrocchio, had passed years there. M. Müntz's arguments are strong ones, and it seems almost certain that, given the possibility of his having seen any of them, Leonardo's powerful effects of light and shade, black as they were, must have strongly influenced the wonderful Venetian who translated the blacks into warm and deep shadows, just as Correggio turned them into clear and transparent tones juxtaposed with silvery lights. Milanesi agrees with Morelli that Giorgione formed himself upon the manner of Giambellino, but it is not too much to say that Giorgione learned largely from both Leonardo and Bellini.

[4] Morelli is especially enthusiastic over the Sleeping Venus of the Dresden Gallery; he believes this picture to be by Giorgione, and that it is the one described by the *Anonimo* as in the house of Jeronimo Marcello at Venice in 1525, as a "Sleeping Venus with a Cupid in an open landscape." Ridolfi also mentions this Sleeping Venus, and says that the Cupid was finished by Titian. Morelli thinks this the prototype of the Venetian pictures of Venus, and that Giorgione's conception is far greater than is Titian's treatment of the same subject. The Cupid was so completely destroyed when the picture came to Dresden, that what remained of it was removed from the canvas. Crowe and Cavalcaselle considered this picture a copy by Sassoferrato, and believed that the original was in the Darmstadt Gallery. This latter picture was thought by Morelli to be an eighteenth-century work of a German artist.

of these represents David (and, according to common report, is a portrait of the master himself); he has long locks, reaching to the shoulders, as was the custom of that time, and the colouring is so fresh and animating, that the face appears to be rather real than painted : the breast is covered with armour, as is the arm, with which he holds the head of Goliath.[5] The second is much larger, and is the portrait of a man taken from the life ; in the hand this figure holds the red barett-cap of a commander, the mantle is of furs, and beneath it appears one of those tunics, after the ancient fashion, which are well known ; this is believed to represent some leader of armies. The third picture is a Boy, with luxuriant curling hair, and is as beautiful as imagination can portray ; these works bear ample testimony to the excellence of Giorgione, and no less than his deserts was the estimation in which he was ever held by that great patriarch, who prized his abilities highly, and constantly treated him with infinite kindness, which he well merited.

In Florence, in the house of the sons of Giovanni Borgherini, there is a picture by the hand of Giorgione, the portrait namely of the above-named Giovanni, taken when he was still a youth, and living in Venice ; in the same picture is also the portrait of his preceptor, nor is it possible to imagine two heads more admirably depicted, whether as regards the general colouring of the flesh or the treatment of the shadows.[6] There is another picture by the same master, in the palace of Anton de' Nobili ; this represents a military commander wearing his armour, and is painted with great force and truth ; they say that it is one of the leaders whom Consalvo Ferrante brought with him to Venice when he visited the Doge, Agostino Barberigo. At that time, as is

[5] These pictures have all disappeared. A David with the Head of Goliath, in the Imperial Art Museum at Vienna, is believed to be a copy from the original of Giorgione ; the latter is lost. Neither the picture of the Warrior nor of the Boy can be identified.

[6] Possibly the double portrait of two men, one reading a letter, now in the Berlin Gallery. See Milanesi, IV. 94, note 3. There is, however, no testimony of solid value to support this conjecture.

reported, Giorgione took the likeness of the Great Consalvo himself, a work of extraordinary merit, insomuch that it was impossible to imagine a more beautiful picture, and this Consalvo took away with him.[7] Giorgione painted many other most admirable portraits, which are dispersed through various parts of Italy, among them is that of Leonardo Loredano, painted at the time when he was Doge: this I saw set forth to view on Ascension day, when I almost believed myself to behold that most illustrious prince himself.[8] Another of these fine works is at Faenza, in the house of Giovanni da Castel of Bologna, an excellent engraver of cameos and gems: it was painted for Giovanni's father-in-law, and is, in truth, a most admirable work; the colours are blent with such perfect harmony, that one would rather suppose it to be in relief than a painting.[9]

Giorgione found much pleasure in fresco-painting, and, among other works of this kind undertaken by him, was one for the Soranzo Palace, which is situate on the Piazza di San Paolo: here he painted the entire façade, on which, to say nothing of the representation of various historical events, or of many fanciful stories, there is an oil-painting, executed on the plaster, which has endured the action of rain, sun, and wind to the present day, and yet preserved its freshness wholly unimpaired. In the same place there is, moreover, a picture of Spring, which appears to me to be one of Giorgione's best works in fresco, and it is much to be lamented that this painting has been so cruelly injured by time. For my part, I am persuaded that there is nothing

[7] Milanesi suggests the possibility of the portrait of Consalvo being that in the Museum of Vienna of an armed man holding a halberd; but the attribution is not generally accepted. The portrait of a *young* warrior in black armor, in the Museum of Frankfort-on-the-Main, is attributed to Giorgione.

[8] This work is lost.

[9] M. Müntz, *op. cit.*, pp. 603–604, in remarking that the decoration of marriage coffers afforded frequent opportunity for Giorgione to develop his romantic vein, gives a whole list of his mythological subjects which have disappeared. See, also, Sig. A. Venturi, *Pinacoteche Minori d' Italia* (*L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VI., p. 409), who attributes to Giorgione certain pictures painted for marriage coffers, and now in the Museum of Padua.

which so grievously injures fresco-paintings as do the south winds, and this they do more particularly when the work is in the neighbourhood of the sea, since they then always bring with them a saline humidity which is exceedingly noxious.[10]

In the year 1504, there happened a most terrible conflagration at the Exchange, or Magazines of the German Merchants, near the bridge of the Rialto, whereby the building was entirely consumed, with all the wares contained in it, to the great loss of the merchants. The Signoria of Venice thereupon commanded that it should be rebuilt, with increased convenience for those who used it or dwelt therein, all which was speedily commenced with great magnificence, and, in due time, was accomplished in a style of infinite beauty and with rich decoration. Giorgione, whose fame had constantly extended, was consulted on this occasion, and received a commission from those who had charge of the matter, to paint the building in fresco of various colours, according to his own fancy; provided only that he gave proof of his ability, and produced a work of adequate excellence, the edifice being in one of the finest sites, and commanding one of the most admirable views in the whole city.[11] Giorgione set hand to the work accordingly, but thought only of executing fanciful figures, calculated for the display of his knowledge in art, and wherein there is, of a truth, neither arrangement of events in consecutive order, nor even single representations, depicting the history of known or distinguished persons, whether ancient or modern. I, for my part, have never been able to understand what they mean, nor, with all the inquiries that I have made, could I ever find any one who did understand, or could explain them to me. Here there is a man, there a woman, in dif-

[10] Of all these there remain but a few slight traces of color.

[11] The *façade* toward the canal was given to Giorgione, that toward the bridge to Titian. See the story of the competition in the life of Titian. See, also, Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig*, Stuttgart, 1887. The Venetian senate ordered of Giorgione a large canvas for the audience-hall of the Grand Council in the Ducal Palace; it has disappeared.

ferent attitudes; one has the head of a lion beside him, near another is an angel, but which rather resembles a Cupid, so that one cannot divine what it all means. Over the door which leads to the store-rooms for the wares, a seated figure of a woman is depicted; she has the head of a dead giant at her feet, as is the custom in representations of Judith,[12] and this head she is raising with a sword, while speaking, at the same time, to a figure in the German habit, who is standing, still further beneath her. What or whom this figure may be intended to represent, I have never been able to determine, unless, indeed, it be meant for a figure of Germany; on the whole, however, it is, nevertheless, apparent that the work is well composed, and that the artist was continually adding to his acquirements: there are certain heads and other portraits of different figures in this work which are extremely well designed, and coloured with great imitation. Giorgione has also laboured throughout to maintain the utmost fidelity to nature, nor is any trace of imitation to be discovered in the manner. This work is highly extolled in Venice, and is celebrated not only for the paintings executed by Giorgione, but also for the advantages presented by the edifice to the commerce of the merchants and for its utility to the public.[13]

Giorgione likewise executed a picture of Christ bearing his Cross, while he is himself dragged along by a Jew. This work was subsequently placed in the church of San Rocco, where it is held in the highest veneration by many of the faithful, and even performs miracles, as is frequently seen.[14] This master laboured in many parts of Italy, as,

[12] This Judith (or figure suggesting Judith) was not by Giorgione, but by Titian, and was engraved as one of his works, by Piccini in 1658 (see Bottari).

[13] Of these frescoes, since destroyed by exposure, certain fragments were engraved in 1760 by Zanetti (see Milanesi, IV., p. 97, note 2).

[14] Critics do not wholly agree regarding this picture, which is, however, generally attributed to Titian. Signor Adolfo Venturi, in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VI., pp. 412–413, reproduces the head of a Christ bearing the Cross, a picture which is in the Loschi Gallery of Vicenza, and which is attributed to Giorgione; he adduces a *replica* existing in the gallery of Rovigo, and gives a reproduction of another head of Christ, identical in pose but finer than the

for example, at Castelfranco[15] and in March of Treviso.[16] He executed numerous portraits for different Italian Princes, and many of his works were sent beyond the confines of Italy,[17] as specimens worthy to bear testimony to the fact that, if Tuscany abounded at all times in masters of eminence, neither were the districts beyond the mountains altogether abandoned or wholly forgotten by Heaven. It is related that Giorgione, being in conversation with certain sculptors, at the time when Andrea del Verrocchio was engaged with his bronze horse,[18] these artists maintained that, since Sculpture was capable of exhibiting various aspects in one sole figure, from the fact that the spectator can walk round it, so it must, on this account, be acknowledged to surpass painting, which could not do more than display a given figure in one particular aspect. Giorgione, on the contrary, was of opinion that in one picture the painter could display various aspects without the necessity of walking round his work, and could even display, at one glance, all the different aspects that could

Loschi picture. This finer work is in the possession of Signor Marius di Maria, of Venice, and Signor Venturi believes that the two other heads mentioned above are only copies from it.

[15] The fine Madonna of Castelfranco is a kind of boundary mark in art. It is a subject conceived in the old and painted in the new manner. The latter is not yet wholly emancipated; in parts the modelling is still close and careful, if compared with other and later works attributed to the master; still, this picture points onward to the Concert of the Louvre, and to the broad, sweeping manner of Titian. In the Ordeal of Fire and the Judgment of Solomon (Uffizi) Giorgione is still, as M. Müntz has remarked, a primitive master; the Castelfranco Madonna announces his change of style. There is in the National Gallery of London a *replica*, with some slight variations, of the San Liberale of the Castelfranco Madonna. Drs. Richter and Frizzoni believe it to be only a copy from Giorgione.

[16] For Giorgione's works in the Trevisan March, Milanesi refers the student to Federici, *Memorie Trevigiane*, II., pp. 2–3.

[17] A very charming head of a shepherd, at Hampton Court, is generally attributed to Giorgione, and is reproduced by Mr. Bernhard Berenson, in his Venetian Painters from a photograph made by the orders of Professor Sidney Colvin. See also Mary Logan, Guide to the Italian Pictures at Hampton Court, 1894.

[18] This story certainly is wrong as to date; Giorgione was only ten years old when Verrocchio was working on the colossal horse.

be presented by the figure of a man, even though the latter should assume several attitudes, a thing which could not be accomplished by sculpture without compelling the observer to change his place, so that the work is not presented at one view, but at different views. He declared, further, that he could execute a single figure in painting, in such a manner as to show the front, back, and profiles of both sides at one and the same time. This assertion astonished his hearers beyond all measure, but the manner in which Giorgione accomplished his purpose was as follows. He painted a nude figure, with its back turned to the spectator, and at the feet of the figure was a limpid stream, wherein the reflection of the front was painted with the utmost exactitude: on one side was a highly burnished corslet, of which the figure had divested itself, and wherein the left side was reflected perfectly, every part of the figure being clearly apparent: and on the other side was a mirror, in which the right profile of the nude form was also exhibited. By this beautiful and admirable fancy, Giorgione desired to prove that painting is, in effect, the superior art, requiring more talent and demanding higher effort: he also shows that it is capable of presenting more at one view than is practicable in sculpture. The work was, indeed, greatly commended and admired as both ingenious and beautiful.[19]

Giorgione likewise painted the portrait of Caterina, Queen of Cyprus, from the life, a picture which I formerly saw in the possession of the illustrious Messer Giovanni Cornaro.[20] In my book of drawings, also, there is a head painted in oil by his hand, wherein he has portrayed a

[19] This work has disappeared. M. Müntz (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 585), in noting the relations between Venice and the North reminds the reader that Jan Van Eyck painted a picture of Women at the Bath, in which, by the aid of a mirror, the same figure was seen from two different sides.

[20] This portrait is lost. Dr. Frizzoni, in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VII., pp. 375-378, discusses certain pictures in the Corporation Galleries of Art, Glasgow, which are variously attributed though without certain proof to Giorgione and to other painters.

German of the Fugger family, who was one of the principal merchants then trading in Venice, and had his abode at the Fondaco, or Cloth Magazine of the Germans.[21] This head is wonderfully beautiful, and I have, besides, in my possession other sketches and pen-and-ink drawings of this master.

While Giorgione was thus labouring to his own honour and that of his country, he was also much in society, and delighted his many friends with his admirable performance in music. At this time he fell in love with a lady, who returned his affection with equal warmth, and they were immeasurably devoted to each other. But in the year 1511 it happened that the lady was attacked by the plague, when Giorgione also, not aware of this circumstance and continuing his accustomed visits, was also infected by the disease, and that with so much violence that in a very short time he passed to another life.[22] This event happened in the thirty-fourth year of his age; not without extreme grief on the part of his many friends, to whom he was endeared by his excellent qualities; it was also greatly to the loss of the world, thus prematurely deprived of his talents.[23][24][25] Amidst

[21] Milanesi identifies the Fugger portrait with a picture in the Munich Gallery catalogued as the portrait of Giorgione, but there is no positive evidence in favor of his theory.

[22] Ridolfi says Giorgione died of grief over the faithlessness of his lady-love. Signor Alessandro Luzio (see Müntz *op. cit.*, p. 608) has shown, on the contrary, that Giorgione really did die of the plague, in October, 1510 (1511 n. s.), at the age of but thirty-three or thirty-four years.

[23] The remains of Giorgione were taken to Castelfranco in 1638, and were interred in the church of San Liberale.

[24] The principal scholar of Giorgione was Sebastiano del Piombo, whose life is given later. The influence of Giorgione over the Venetian school, says Morelli, can be traced in the works of Lotto, Palma Vecchio, Titian, Sebastian del Piombo, Pordenone, Boccaccino, Bonifazio Veronese, Cariani, Romanino, and others.

[25] The late Giovanni Morelli, who by his "new method" of analysis of pictures has made himself so famous a name as a critic, has perhaps studied no other master so enthusiastically as Giorgione. Morelli's contributions to our critical methods are of great and undoubted value; he has been a successful innovator, has made distinguished converts, and directors of great galleries have accepted many of his attributions. His books are important, al-

these regrets there was, however, the consolation of knowing that Giorgione [26] had left behind him two worthy dis-

though a controversial spirit is not wholly absent from their pages. His attributions are usually unhesitating, most of them are based upon careful reasoning, some of them, on the contrary, seem rather arbitrary, and in the case of one picture by Giorgione (Italian Painters, Vol. I., p. 248), the author would appear to have rested his case upon the kind of evidence which he finds worthless when adduced by other critics. On the whole, where so many doctors have disagreed, as in the case of Giorgione, the fallibility of all is possible, and M. Müntz, in his *Fin de la Renaissance*, wisely abstains from anything more than the study of the disputed pictures, the acceptance of well-established evidence, or, in default of that, of a general consensus of opinion. No painter has been such a subject of controversy as Giorgione—controversy which runs the gamut from the enlightened criticism of Morelli to the fantastical attribution which names the three figures in the Concert of the Pitti, Luther, John Calvin, and Catherine von Bora! The Madonna of Castelfranco is an authenticated work; a majority of art critics endorses also the Ordeal of Fire, in the Uffizi; the Judgment of Solomon, in the same gallery (this picture is, however, not wholly undisputed); the so-called Family of Giorgione, in the Giovanelli Palace of Venice; the Three Astrologers, or rather, the Evander and Eneas, in the Gallery of Vienna, and a portrait of a young man in the Museum of Berlin. The *Concert Champêtre* of the Louvre has been disputed, but is called authentic by Morelli and Mr. Berenson, while the latter believe the Concert of the Pitti Gallery to have been painted by Titian while he was still a youth. MM. Gronau and Wickhoff attribute this Concert, as well as the one in the Louvre, to Domenico Campagnola. Morelli has claimed for Giorgione the Madonna with Saints Rochus and Anthony, in the Museum of Madrid, see Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, *L' Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VI., p. 461. This picture is, on the contrary, attributed by other critics to Pordenone, see M. Paul Lefort, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, December, 1892, p. 470. The Madonna with Saint Bridget and another saint, in the same Museum of Madrid, and there attributed to Giorgione, is given by Morelli to Titian. Morelli also claims for Giorgione the Sleeping Venus of Dresden; some shepherds (a fragment) in the Esterhazy collection at Buda-Pesth; the Christ of the Loschi collection, in Vicenza (see note 14); the Knight of Malta, in the Uffizi (which has there been attributed to Sebastian del Piombo and to others); a portrait of a woman, No. 143, in the Borghese Gallery of Rome; a portrait of a man, in Buda-Pesth; the Apollo and Daphne of the Archbishop's Seminary in Venice, and the picture of the Three Stages of Life, in the Pitti, and there attributed to Lorenzo Lotto. A Nymph and Satyr, in the Pitti, has been also attributed by Morelli to Giorgione as a youthful work; it is, however, a doubtful picture. The Holy Family, in the Louvre, catalogued as by Giorgione, is accredited by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Pellegrino da San Daniele.

[26] Giorgione exists especially as a great name and a great influence. He is the emancipator, and worked as complete a change in the North as did the great masters of the Roman school in Tuscany and in Central Italy.

ciples and excellent masters in Sebastiano, a Venetian, who was afterwards a Monk of the Piombo in Rome, and Titian del Cadore, who not only equalled, but even surpassed him greatly. Of both these artists we propose to speak in the proper place, and will then fully describe the honour and advantage which the art has derived from them.

After Giorgione the *morceau*, to use a French term, disappears; it is sacrificed to the *ensemble*, that is to say, detail is no longer considered, general effect is everything. In this change there was at once great gain and great loss, gain in an additional phase of evolution, loss of a whole paraphernalia of charming decorative accessory. Giorgione leads his Madonna of Castelfranco down from her ornamented throne, and teaching her to forget the brocades and marbles takes her into the fields. He was the first to feel sure that with sky and trees and water he needed no properties made by man's hands. Until now the Italians had painted saints and princes, the Venetians began to paint the *people*. An unhesitating rejection of all that was old, of all that had become conventional, must have been nearly instinctive to Giorgione. The selection of two or three human figures, a tree, a purple mountain background, satisfied him as to his material and made him an innovator. Into this idyl he put an intensity that was all his own, and a color deeper chorded than is even Titian's, and, since he was a Venetian, together with this intensity there came robustness.

His nymphs are no anæmic Graces of Botticelli, but are round and overheavy; he cares little for drawing in these episodical pictures, and much for harmony; his coloring is Venetian in its most powerful and profound phase; his background is that noble, many-fountained country which, overhung by a cornice of Alps and studded with cities of the hill and of the plain, lies between Milan and Venice. He is the Theocritus of Italian painting, and his idyls have the largeness and simplicity of classic conception; though his pictures are full of a thoughtful and melancholy charm, they are nevertheless robust and healthy in their golden warmth of tone. He domesticated outdoor nature, replacing the religious picture even of the private chapel by something more intimate, he framed little fragments of the hills and woods, and to the Venetian patricians in their winter palaces he gave back their *villegiatura* by this *rus in urbe*. With him begins that frank untrammelled power which we find even in the works of third-rate Venetian masters, the result rather of temperament than of the thought and science which Florentines gave to art. That Leonardo's chiaroscuro fascinated him we can well believe; he turned its black shadows to bronze and gold; as with Leonardo we must not judge him by his concrete work as much as by his vast influence, for although he died so young he launched the ship which Titian brought to port.

ANTONIO DA CORREGGIO, PAINTER

[Born 1494 (?) ; died 1534.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Raphael Mengs, *Memorie Concernenti la Vita e le Opere di A. Allegri*, Bassano, 1783. J. Affò, *Ragionamento sopra una Stanza Dipinta del Correggio nel Monasterio di S. Paolo*, Parma, 1794. G. G. di Rossi, *Pitture di Antonio Allegri, detto il Correggio, esistenti in Parma nel monastero di San Paolo*, Parma, 1800. L. Pungileoni, *Memorie Istoriche di Antonio Allegri detto il Correggio*, Parma, 1817–1821. M. Leone, *Pitture di Antonio Allegri da Correggio*, Modena, 1841. P. Toschi, *Tutti gli Affreschi del Correggio in Parma*, Parma, 1846. Carlo d'Arco, *Le Arti e le Artisti Mantovani*, Mantua, 1859. T. Gautier, *Le Corrège*, in *l'Artiste*, 1865, I., pp. 3, 25, 49, Paris, 1865. G. Giordani, *Sopra sei Bozzi ad olio dipinti da Correggio*, Bologna, 1867. C. Malaspina, *La Vita e le Opere di Correggio*, Parma, 1869. J. Meyer, *Antonio Allegri da Correggio*, Leipsic, 1871 ; English translation by M. C. Heaton, London, 1876. L. W. Schaufüss, *Correggio's träumende Magdalena* Dresden, 1873. Quirino Bigi, *Notizie di Antonio Allegri e di A. Bartoletti suo maestro e di altri pittori ed artisti Correggesi*, Modena, 1873. L. Fagan, The Works of Correggio at Parma, London, 1873. Willelmo Braghirolli, *De' rapporti di Federigo II. Gonzaga con Antonio Allegri da Correggio*, article published in the *Giornale d'Erudizione Artistica*, Perugia, 1874, Vol. III., p. 325. Mortini, *Studi intorno il Correggio*, Parma, 1875. G. Colbacchini, *Due Dipinti da Correggio*, Venice, 1875. J. P. Richter, *Correggio*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler*, Leipsic. Hugo von Tschudi, *Correggio's Mythologische Darstellungen*, *Graphischen Künsten*, Vienna, 1880. Madame Mignaty, *Le Corrège*, Paris, 1881. E. Panzacchi, *Il Correggio*, in *Natura ed Arte*, Milan, 1894, and in the volume *Al Rezzo*, Rome, 1882. G. Gruyer, *Le Corrège au Musée du Louvre*, in *La Nouvelle Revue*, November 1, 1888. A. Venturi, *Quadri del Correggio per Albinea*, *l'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1888, I., p. 90. A. Majoli, *La Vita e le Opere del Correggio* (*Conversazioni della Domenica*), No. 22, May 27, 1888, Milan. Vasnier, *La Coupole du Corrège à Parme*, *Chronique des Arts*, 1890, No. 30. Correggio, M. C. Heaton, London, 1891. H. Thode, *Correggio's Madonna von Casalmaggiore* in the *Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1891. Adolfo Venturi, *Il Pittor delle Grazie*. Gustavo Frizzoni, *Capolavoro nuovamente illustrato*, *l'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, VII., pp. 292–95. Alberto Rondani, *Come visse il Correggio*, *Nuova Antologia*, LII., p. 45, Rome, 1894, and *Il Correggio*, published in various numbers of the *Gazzetta di Parma*, 1890. Corrado Ricci, Antonio Allegri da Correggio, London and New York, 1896. Of these works incomparably the most important is that by Signor Corrado

Ricci. It is a nearly definitive monograph, with careful arguments, sifted evidence, and quoted or cited documents in great numbers. It is written with intelligent enthusiasm, and is illustrated by a very great number of reproductions made by the latest processes. It is only within a year or two that Correggio's frescoes of Parma have been photographed. This fact would in itself make Signor Ricci's book invaluable; and the further fact must be added that as director of the galleries of Parma the author had very great advantages for obtaining documentary evidence. It is much to be desired that editors, whether French or English, shall give to men so competently equipped and fortunately placed, the opportunity of writing monographs upon many painters whose works have been imperfectly illustrated. Even those who, like Mantegna, Signorelli, Botticelli, Fra Bartolommeo, and Verrocchio, have been made the subject of important monographs or chapters, would be the better for some publications giving an adequate, pictorial reproduction of their works. Giotto's and Angelico's paintings would make superb picture-books, independently of the literary interest which should attach to such works. The Bellini, Ghirlandajo, Filippino, Perugino, Pinturicchio, Andrea del Sarto, are waiting their turn, as well as many of the great Venetians. Among Italian masters only Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo and Titian, and now Correggio, have had relatively thorough justice done to them in the matter of reproductions of their pictures, and in an art-book reproductions are of the greatest importance. Mr. Berenson's Lorenzo Lotto is another well illustrated monograph. Dr. Meyer's work is also a comprehensive and valuable study of Correggio, and is the first in which evidence is examined. Sig. Ricci, while condemning the confused character of Pungileoni's work, says that it has afforded a mass of detailed information; he finds, on the contrary, that Bigi and Mme. Mignaty returned in a great measure to the old fables which have so long existed concerning the painter. Several of the works mentioned in this Bibliography are short studies by eminent modern critics upon special works. In addition to the comprehensive books of Ricci and Meyer, Burckhardt's Cicerone should also be read for an analysis of the weaker side of Correggio's work, and Morelli, both in his Italian Painters and his Italian Masters in German Galleries, should be consulted for his special studies upon the Magdalen of Dresden and other disputed pictures.

I AM not willing to depart hastily from the land wherein our great mother Nature, that she might not be accused of partiality, presented to the world extraordinary men, of the same kind wherewith she had for so many years adorned Tuscany. Among the masters of this vicinity, then, and one endowed with an exalted and most admirable genius, was Antonio da Correggio,[1] an excellent

[1] Antonio was the son of Pellegrino Allegri, called also Doman, and of Bernardina Piazzoli degli Aromani; he was born in the quarter of the Borgo Vecchio, of the town of Correggio, a small city between Modena and Reggio,

painter, who acquired the new manner to such complete perfection that, in a few years,[2] favoured as he was by nature and advanced by diligent study, he became a most remarkable and excellent artist.[3] Of a timid and anxious

probably in 1494, and it seems likely that his ancestry originally came from Campagnola. The house in the Borgo—what was left of it at least—was bought by a society of gentlemen of the city of Correggio and was presented to the municipality. The date (1494) given as that of his birth, though unsupported by document, is probably correct, or very nearly so. Antonio occasionally signed receipts by his nickname, "Lieto" or "Lieti."

[2] The fascination that attaches to Correggio has been not a little enhanced by the belief that he was absolutely self-made and had no artistic environment worth calling such. This factitious and wholly unnecessary enhancement must be renounced, for Antonio grew up as the friend and *protégé* of Veronica Gambara, and surrounded by the refinements of a court. Nothing is more special to Italy of the Renaissance than is the existence of a great number of tiny but cultivated capitals, to which the Weimar of the last century affords a modern parallel. Antonio was protected by Veronica, who was wife of the Lord of Correggio, and he was even one of the witnesses to the betrothal settlement of Chiara di Gianfrancesco da Correggio when she was affianced to Ippolito, the son of Veronica. Veronica Gambara was an intimate friend and correspondent of Isabella d'Este, "the great marchioness," the most famous lady of her time in North Italy, and it is highly probable that when Antonio went to Mantua he was recommended to Isabella by Veronica. See Ricci, Correggio, p. 83 *et seq.*

[3] Correggio's paternal uncle, Lorenzo Allegri, was a painter, and it is only natural to infer that the boy's first guidance came from him. Antonio (called Tognino) Bartolotti degli Anceschi may also, as the leading artist of the little city of Correggio, have been the boy's master, or, at the least, influential in his early training, but there is nothing to directly prove his relations with the younger Antonio. Francesco Bianchi-Ferrari, called by some critics Correggio's master, is not mentioned as such until the seventeenth century (by Gian Battista Spaccini). Signor Ricci (Correggio, pp. 45–47) brings forward many arguments in combating this theory supported by Signor Venturi, that Ferrari was his master; he also strongly opposes the supposition of Morelli that Correggio became a scholar of Francia, and when only fourteen years old. He adduces in point the fact that Malvasia, who saw Francia's own household record of his scholars, and copied thirty names from it, does not include Correggio's name, and adds that he certainly would have quoted it triumphantly had it existed in the record. Morelli, however, has first stated the now generally accepted theory that Correggio derives from and is the greatest exponent of the Emilian, and more particularly the Ferrarese, school of painting. Signor Ricci believes that Antonio passed to Mantua from his native city (historians tell us that he went there in 1511 with some of the Correggian lords who had fled from the pestilence which was decimating Correggio), and that he there "formed his characteristic style studying the works of Mantegna, but

disposition, he subjected himself to severe and continual labours[4] in his art for the support of his family, which he found an oppressive burthen,[5] and though disposed by nature towards everything good, he, nevertheless, afflicted himself more than was reasonable by resisting the pressure of those passions by which man is most commonly assailed. In the exercise of his art, Antonio betrayed the melancholy attributed to his disposition; but, devoted to the labours of his vocation, he was a zealous inquirer into all the difficulties incidental to the calling he had chosen.[6] Of his suc-

also coming under the direct influence of Costa and Dossi, who were working in Mantua at the time." See Ricci, Correggio, pp. 68, 69. Morelli even thinks that Correggio may have studied for a time in Venice itself. Pungileoni says, as to Antonio's education, outside of his painting, that he received literary instruction from Giovanni B rni of Piacenza and Marastoni of Modena; in philosophy from G. B. Lombardi, a celebrated physician of Correggio; and in anatomy from Francesco Grillenzoni. Signor Ricci, however, assures us that in all of this Pungileoni drew upon his imagination, simply fitting the names of the celebrated local or neighboring *savants* to his case.

[4] Vasari has been criticised for saying that Correggio's painting was laborious, whereas it was in reality flowing and spontaneous; but the fact is that Vasari says nothing of the sort. He tells us that Correggio fatigued himself with continual labor in his art, which is quite another thing, since the work accomplished in the short life of this wonderful man is enough to prove that his labor was unremitting. The real source of Vasari's insistence is probably his desire to reconcile this biography with the tradition of Correggio's misfortunes.

[5] The father of Correggio, Pellegrino Allegri, possessed, toward 1534, a very fair landed property, and gave a suitable dowry to Antonio's daughter; Antonio also inherited from his maternal uncle, Francesco Aromani, but after much vexatious litigation. After the death of the painter the governor of Parma, Alessandro Caccia, wrote to the Duke of Mantua, "I hear that he has made comfortable provision for his heirs." This disposes at once of the stories of exaggerated poverty and of exaggerated prosperity which various writers have told concerning the family of Correggio. A misreading of the word *misero*, penurious rather than poor, was the fruitful source of misconception regarding Antonio's poverty. Vasari, as we see, shared this misconception, and the seventeenth-century painters believed that their illustrious forerunner had nearly died of want. Still later, Oehlenschläger wrote a tragedy upon the supposed conditions of his d ath, and for a long time the story of the sixty scudi in copper (see page 32), played an important part in all books upon Correggio.

[6] Antonio's first authentic work was ordered in 1514, for the Franciscan church of Correggio, and was painted in five months. As he was a minor his

cess we have proof in a vast multitude of figures executed by his hand in the cathedral of Parma : they are painted in fresco, and finished with much care. These pictures are in the great cupola of the church, and the foreshortenings are managed with extraordinary ability, as the spectator, regarding the work from below, perceives, to his admiring astonishment.[7]

father's permission had to be obtained by the conventual authorities. He received one hundred ducats, a large price for the work of a youthful painter. In 1638 the Duke of Modena carried off the picture to the capital, its removal causing a riot in Correggio. In 1711 it was sold to Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, and it is now in the Dresden Gallery. It represents an Enthroned Madonna, with Saints Catherine, Francis of Assisi, Anthony of Padua, and John the Baptist. Dr. Meyer calls attention to the Mantegnesque type of the Madonna and of the other figures. M. Müntz, while admitting the influence of Mantegna, on the other hand (*La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 570), considers that this is the only picture which gives evidence of any strong influence of the Ferraro-Bolognese school upon Correggio, and that both the composition and the types in this altar-piece show the dual influence of Cosimo Tura and Francia, indeed of Perugino, "transmitted through his imitator, Francia."

[7] Correggio received the order to paint his frescoes of the cathedral of Parma on November 3, 1522, his autograph agreement still exists, and is reproduced in *fac-simile* on page 252 of Signor Ricci's book. The commission was to decorate the cupola, presbytery, and apse, but only the cupola was eventually painted by him, the other decorations having been executed later by Girolamo Mazzola-Bedoli. The work of Correggio is as follows : In the pendentives to the cupola are four seated saints with many youthful angels, the seated figures are enthroned upon clouds. Twelve colossal apostles stand along an octagonal cornice behind a painted balustrade, looking upward at the Assumption of the Virgin. Painted candelabra rise at the angles of the cornice, and between them are many boy genii standing, sitting, or reclining. Above them the whole cupola is filled with clouds, and a multitude of flying figures surrounding the Virgin, who is borne upward. Under the soffits of the arches to the cupola are painted figures of boy genii, six of which are by Correggio, the others by Mazzola-Bedoli. The saints in the pendentives are Ilario, Bernardo degli Uberti, Tommaso, and Giovanni Battista.

The above is the material distribution of the frescoes. Considered generally the result is the achievement of one of the few works which may be called sublime. Technically considered, this Assumption presents the first triumphantly successful realization of aërial, transparent, fresco color. For the first time also architectonics are disregarded, and a whole cupola is shown as one undivided and realistic composition. The color is beyond criticism, the arrangement, which in principle is, on the contrary, distinctly open to criticism, is justified by its result. It is splendidly, dazzlingly successful, and yet not only the few to whom it is antipathetic, but the many who profoundly admire

Correggio was the first in Lombardy who commenced the execution of works in the modern manner, and it is thought that if he had travelled beyond the limits of his native Lombardy and visited Rome,[8] he would have performed

may analyze it, and find in it certain germs of decadence. To begin with, it is confused, and in the painter's passion for realistic foreshortening he has frequently sacrificed dignity, and has sometimes become frankly awkward. The monumental grandeur of Raphael and Michelangelo is completely absent, but it is replaced by another grandeur, which comes from sweep and whirl, and radiant figures so multiplied in numbers that the very volume of the painter's creation adds immensely to its power. They are upon every side, these figures, bending and tossing, floating and diving through clouds, hovering above the abysmal void that is between the dome and the earth below it. There is a lack of restraint, indeed there is a direct straining for that illusion which is not wholly in accordance with the principles of architectonic decoration, but *any* violation of artistic conventions is permissible to a genius who through rupture with tradition creates new forms of beauty. Here is the triumphant application of realism to a vision, not the tranquil contemplative vision of an older master, but a moving vision—rapturous, ecstatic. It was too original, too new, too different not to shock the Parmesan clergy, and they appear to have disapproved of it. A canon satirizing its one weakness, and blind to its power, called it a "stew of frogs;" but the man who was great enough to understand it—Titian—said (if the story be true), "reverse the cupola and fill it with gold, and even that will not represent its worth." After him came the Caracci, and all the school of Bologna, with laurels to the memory of the artist who had died saddened and misunderstood.

[8] There is no direct proof that Correggio ever visited Rome, and this in itself makes the visit improbable, but not impossible. If Correggio had gone there with any of his work it seems most unlikely that he should not have attracted the envious attention and admiration of the scholars of Raphael, and thereby left us some certain record of his presence. On the other hand, if he went there without any of his pictures, and merely as an unknown Lombard artist come to see the great city, there is nothing improbable in the fact that he who had been unnoticed by Ariosto and Bembo, when they were face to face with his works in his native Parma, should have remained unnoticed in the whirl of Roman life. What would most make us credit a visit to the capital is that his works recall so many masterpieces of the Roman school—the frescoes of the Sistine, the nymphs of the Farnesina, the Virgin of Foligno (see Müntz, *op. cit.*). What makes the visit most improbable is the record of his work in Parma and Correggio, given year by year by Milanesi, and showing his almost constant presence in those towns. Those who believe that Correggio did visit Rome bring forward no really valid arguments. Ortensio Landi, who wrote as early as 1552, and who may very possibly have known Correggio's son Pomponio, says, on the contrary, and in support of Vasari, that "he died young without having seen Rome." But although it is practically certain that he never saw this Mecca and Jerusalem of the *cinquecento* artist, it by no

wonders, nay, would have given a dangerous rival to many who, in his day, were called great artists. Be this as it may, his works, being what they are, although he had never seen those of antiquity, nor was even acquainted with the best works of the modern masters;[9] it necessarily follows that if he had studied these works he would have materially improved his own, and, proceeding from good to better, would have attained to the highest summit of excellence. We may, indeed, affirm with certainty that no artist has handled the colours more effectually than himself, nor has any painted with a more charming manner, or given a more

means follows that Correggio may not have had a hint, and more than a hint, of Raphael's and Michelangelo's greatness through *repliche*, drawings, and, above all, through engravings of their works. It must be remembered that the character of the genius of the Roman School was such that a drawing or a black and white reproduction of one of its masterpieces might act as an inspirational force of highest order, whereas the works of Giorgione and Titian, depending as they do upon qualities which cannot be perfectly translated into black and white, have to be seen to be stimulating. Raphael's works were popularized by engraving at an early date, and his Sistine Madonna could be seen in Piacenza, which was almost at Correggio's doors; but even if our master had access to no others, the frescoes and easel pictures of Mantegna would in themselves have sufficed to inspire an artist of Correggio's calibre, while the works of Leonardo must in turn have powerfully affected one to whom chiaroscuro was an instinctive means of expression.

[9] On the contrary, he saw and studied the works of Mantegna, an artist so great that he stands immediately after the half-dozen greatest of Italy. Dr. Meyer holds that Mantegna exercised a complete and undeniable influence over Correggio. Signor Ricci feels that the latter, in his art, is the "logical outcome of Emilian formulæ," but admits the immense influence of the great Andrea, which indeed must be felt by any observer who will compare the *putti* of Correggio with those of Mantegna in the Mantuan *Camera degli Sposi*. Signor Ricci also reminds the student of the strong resemblance which exists between the background of the Madonna della Vittoria with its bower of leafage and fruit, and the general scheme or frame to Correggio's decoration of the *Camera* of San Paolo in Parma. Although the still mightier Leonardo da Vinci undoubtedly affected Correggio strongly in the direction of chiaroscuro, Mantegna's was the greatest mind with which Antonio came into close and intimate relation, since the latter sojourned in Andrea's city and directly studied his works. It is quite true that in his preferences and selections Correggio was the exact opposite of Mantegna; he laughed where Andrea frowned, and ignored the archæological accessories which Mantegna loved; nevertheless so great an example as that of Andrea Mantegna could not fail to impress certain sides of Correggio's comprehension of the plastic.

perfect relief to his figures, so exquisite was the softness of the carnations from his hand, so attractive the grace with which he finished his works. In the cathedral of Parma, before mentioned, Antonio painted two large pictures in oil : in one of these among other things is a figure of the Dead Christ, which has been very highly extolled.[10] In the church of San Giovanni, in the same city, he painted a tribune in fresco, and in this work he depicted Our Lady ascending into Heaven, amidst a multitude of angels, and surrounded by numerous saints.[11] It appears almost im-

[10] These paintings are in the gallery of Parma. The *Pietà* was painted 1522–24 for Placido del Bono; the second is the Martyrdom of Saints Placidus, Flavia, Eutychius, and Victorinus. It must be admitted that Burckhardt's criticisms (in the Cicerone), in spite of their severity, are just. In speaking of the *Pietà* he admits "the truly noble expression" of the head of Christ, but condemns the other figures as "almost trivial." Of the Martyrdom he says that it is "a fatal picture, the worst qualities of which have found only too great response among the painters of the seventeenth century."

[11] Here Vasari's memory is at fault. The Ascension of Our Lady is in the cathedral of Parma, the subject painted in the cupola of San Giovanni Evangelista is an Ascension of Christ; the work preceded that of the cathedral, and was done between 1520 and 1525. In the tribune of the church Correggio painted a Coronation of the Virgin; but the choir having been lengthened in 1587 the fresco was destroyed. The figures of the Saviour and the Virgin were preserved, and are in the Palatine Library of Parma; certain other fragments are in the collection of Mr. Ludwig Mond, in London. A year before the destruction of the old apse, namely, in 1586, Cesare Aretusi made a copy of the fresco, by order of the Benedictines, and the latter was reproduced in the new apse. There are studies from this fresco by Agostino and Annibale Caracci in the gallery and archiepiscopal palace of Parma and in the Naples Museum. It is said that Aretusi commissioned the Caracci to make these first copies for him. Correggio had made a contract to paint a frieze in the nave, but apparently only designed it, leaving the painting to Rondani; but (see Signor Ricci's Correggio, p. 217) having probably himself painted one of the twelve designs, namely, the fourth on the right. The scroll work and tracery are attributed to Anselmi, but the fine *lunette* over the small door in the left transept, a St. John the Evangelist, with the symbolical eagle, is by Correggio himself. In addition to this *lunette* and the cupola there are also the symbols of the Evangelists and eight monochrome subjects upon the soffits to the arches, namely: St. Joseph, Moses, Elijah, Daniel, Jonah, Samson, Abraham's Sacrifice, Cain and Abel.

In the cupola of San Giovanni, Correggio, first among the artists of Italy, threw aside the whole architectonic tradition of art, and said to himself "I will break through tradition and cupola at once, will consider that the walls are

possible that the fancy of man should be capable of conceiving a work such as this is, much more that he should be able to execute it with the hand, so extraordinary is its beauty, so graceful the flow of the draperies,[12] so exquisite the expression which the master has given to the figures.

no longer there, and will make a realistic heaven, where real figures among real clouds shall be seen in real perspective, such as would actually obtain." *Nota bene*, that a cupola, a hollow dome without ribs or projections from the plaster, is the only form to which such a *trompe l'œil*, such illusory perspective, could be applied without being ridiculous. Even here it is open to criticism, but if any man ever existed for whom it was entirely right to do this thing, that man was Antonio Allegri of Correggio. Imitators have abused his example until the abuse became detestable, but the example remains so brilliant, so satisfying, that we blame only those who failed in their imitation. To the artist, and above all to the artist who has worked upon the plaster and knows how readily overpainting becomes heavy and dead, the marvellous lightness, silveriness, airiness of Correggio's frescoes, especially of his frescoes of the cathedral, are an unceasing wonder. The astonishing Tiepolo is less astonishing after we have seen what he saw, and so fervently admired in Parma. In San Giovanni, eleven colossal Apostles sit upon clouds about the dome below the ascending Christ, while beneath them again the aged Saint John kneels upon his hilltop in Patmos and looks upward. The whole composition is alive with the charming angels, or sprites, which seem the very quintessential expression of Correggio's spirit. The pendentives of the cupola contain, in four groups, Saints Luke and Ambrose, Saints Mark and Gregory, Saints John and Augustine, Saints Matthew and Jerome. These figures are quieter than most of those by the master, and the pendentives are more architectonic in arrangement than are any other compositions of Correggio. Signor Ricci, in his admirable book, rarely says anything with which one can take issue, but his comparison of the figures of the Apostles of San Giovanni Evangelista with those of Michelangelo, to the disadvantage of the latter, is unfair. "The ostentatious display of anatomical reliefs" with Michelangelo never fails to show a perfect competency, a knowledge of construction, which is absent in Correggio; his figures in the frescoes of San Giovanni Evangelista are so rounded that they sometimes seem swollen, and some of their attitudes are as constrained as those of Michelangelo, without having his grandeur of line. Naturally we are comparing the best work of either master, and throw aside such exaggeration as obtains in the frescoes which the great Florentine painted in his last years. Besides, Correggio is so great that he stands in no need of such comparison; in his vast frescoes it is not the silhouette of any one figure upon which we base our admiration, although some of these single figures, notably the boys, are exquisitely beautiful, but it is upon the fusion, the volume, the solemn radiance by which Correggio in his dome of Parma becomes even apocalyptic.

[12] Correggio is unequal in his draperies; some of them are very bad.

Some of the sketches of them are in the book of designs to which we not unfrequently refer; they are drawn by Correggio himself in red chalk, and are surrounded by a kind of frieze, wherein there are figures of beautiful children, and other ornamental forms, with which the master adorned that work, some of them being varied and fanciful representations of sacrifices, after the manner of the antique.[13]

[13] Some of these drawings undoubtedly referred to Correggio's frescoes which decorate the so-called *Camera di San Paolo* in Parma. They were painted probably in 1518 for Giovanna Piacenza, abbess of the nunnery of San Paolo. From the cornice of a nearly square room sixteen ribs rise to the centre of the vaulting. Correggio's decoration has been adapted to this construction. "The design is a bower of foliage supported on a trellis of canes, with sixteen oval openings" (see Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 159); through these latter are seen *putti*, two in each oval. The lower portion of every section, enclosed by the ribbing, terminates in a *lunette* painted as a chiaroscuro niche containing a simulated statue or a group. Signor Ricci, in his Correggio, reproduces separately the sixteen ovals and the sixteen *lunettes*, as well as the Diana upon her Car, painted upon the cap of the chimney-place. All this, considered as a scheme for the decoration of the private apartment of the abbess of a nunnery, is wholly astonishing to those who have not followed the history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy. At that time, however, a taste for mythology had passed even the gratings of convents, and the convents themselves, asylums for dowerless younger daughters of noble houses, had become so mundane that more than one decree had been powerless to enforce austerity. Indeed the judgments rendered by this very abbess, Giovanna Piacenza, regarding family property, had given rise to bloody combats, and twice the Cavaliere Scipione Montino della Rosa, Correggio's patron, was sought for in the convent, by force of arms, by order of the governor of the city. A tessellated pavement in the convent bore figures of cavaliers and ladies, pierced hearts, and sentimental mottoes; Diana and the *amorini* were therefore not out of place. These frescoes have suffered greatly in color, and lack the silvery and transparent quality of much of Correggio's work. In the ovals the artist has not troubled himself about composition of line. A Florentine would have considered his linear arrangement far more carefully. Life and movement are what Antonio has sought and obtained; there is little doubt that the color was once fresh and lovely, the *lunettes* are still full of grace and charm, and although this early work can by no means parallel Correggio's great masterpieces, it is of astonishing precocity, spontaneity, originality, and freshness. See M. Charles Yriarte, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, March, 1895, for his theory that Correggio painted the vaulting of an octagonal room in the Castello Vecchio of Mantua for Isabella d'Este. This palace now forms part of the Reggia Gonzaga, the great Palazzo Ducale. For reproductions see the *Gazette* aforesaid, pp. 197, 201, 203. M. Yriarte is convinced that Correggio was influenced by Lionbruno, a Mantuan

And of a truth, if Antonio had not finished his work so admirably as we see that he did, his drawings (although they have merit in the manner, with a grace which sufficiently indicates the practised hand of a master) would scarcely have obtained him that reputation among artists which he has derived from his truly excellent works. The art of design is so difficult and has so many ramifications, that an artist not unfrequently finds himself incapable of perfectly mastering all. Some, for example, have drawn most admirably, but have betrayed certain imperfections in their colouring ; others have coloured wonderfully, but have not drawn with equal success. All this depends on the judgment exercised in youth, and the amount of practice bestowed by one on drawing, by another on colouring ; but all must be acquired before the work can be conducted perfectly to its desired completion, that, namely, of colouring finely what has been well drawn.[14] To Correggio belongs the great praise of having attained the highest point of perfection in colouring, whether his works were executed in oil or in fresco.[15] For the church of San Francesco, belonging to the Barefooted Friars in that city (Parma), he painted an Annunciation in fresco, a work of extraordinary beauty : insomuch that when it afterwards became needful to demolish the wall, in the course of certain changes required in the building, those friars caused that part whereon

painter. In 1530 and 1532 Correggio was again at Mantua. Signor Ricci, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–74, is equally convinced that Correggio did not paint these frescoes, and combats the idea that he was influenced by Lionbruno. The decoration of this Mantuan room consists of *putti* in a sort of bowery framing, suggestive at once of the *Camera di San Paolo* and of some of Mantegna's arrangements.

[14] As we see here, even before the greatest masterpieces of Correggio or Titian, the Tuscan Vasari never quite forgets himself, and it is right that he should not slight that which was the basis of Florentine art, all the more since he never, for the sake of approving Tuscan drawing, stints his praise of either Lombard or Venetian.

[15] Milanesi, who rarely introduces a technical criticism, says felicitously that "Correggio's coloring may be called a clarification of Leonardo's manner." He means that Leonardo's fusion of color, his *sfumatura*, is to be found in Correggio's work, but that here it is not smoky and dark but clear and brilliant in its diffusion.

the painting was executed to be bound round by woodwork secured with irons, and, cutting it away by little and little, they saved their picture, and afterwards caused it to be built into a more secure place in another part of their convent.[16]

Over one of the gates of the city of Parma, Correggio depicted a figure of the Virgin, with the Child in her arms. This is a picture of astonishing beauty, the exquisite colouring of which has obtained the master infinite praise and honour from such strangers and travellers as have seen no other of his works than this fresco.[17] In Sant' Antonio also, a church of the same city, our artist painted a picture wherein there is a figure of the Virgin, with Santa Maria Maddalena : near them is a boy, representing a little angel, with a book in his hand, who is smiling so naturally that all who look on him are moved to smile also ; nor is there any one, however melancholy his temperament, who can behold him without feeling a sensation of pleasure. In the same picture there is also a figure of San Girolamo, which is painted in a manner so admirable and so astonishing, that painters extol the colouring as something wonderful, affirming that it would be scarcely possible to paint better.[18]

[16] Painted about 1524 (see Ricci, p. 247), Milanesi says, for the church of the Santissima Annunziata a Capo di Ponte ; but Signor Ricci states that it was only when the fathers of the Annunciation built a *new* church, in the quarter called Capo di Ponte, that they took the fresco to its present place.

[17] This Madonna della Scala was painted on the inner side of the Porta Romana. When, in 1554, alterations were made in the gate, a small church was built to preserve the fresço, the wall upon which the latter was painted becoming the back wall of the said church or chapel. As the fresco was at quite a distance from the ground, a flight of steps was built up to it, whence it received its name of "*della Scala.*" When the chapel was pulled down, in 1812, the fresco was removed to the Pinacoteca. It has been injured by the affixing of a votive silver crown to the head of the Virgin. The crown has been removed.

[18] This picture, commonly called Correggio's St. Jerome, was ordered, in 1523, by the lady Briseide da Colla, wife of Orazio Bergonzi. Although dukes and sovereign princes have tried to buy it, and it made the forced journey to Paris, it remains in the Pinacoteca of Parma, where it is the central jewel. The arrangement of the picture is open to criticism ; Signor Ricci remarks the "solemn dignity of attitude of the Saint Jerome ;" Burckhardt, with more keenness of observation, calls this same attitude "affected and insecure," and

Antonio executed various pictures and paintings of different kinds for many nobles of Lombardy; among others of his works may be mentioned two painted in Mantua, for the Duke Federigo II., who sent them to the Emperor, a present truly worthy of such a prince.[19] These works having been seen by Giulio Romano, he declared that he had never beheld colouring executed with equal perfection. One of them was a nude figure of Leda,[20] the other a Venus,

notes the facial ugliness of the Christ child and the *putto*. The execution is beyond reproach, the color wonderful in its delicacy, freshness, depth, and truth; in all Italy there is no more exquisite bit of *morbidezza* than is seen in the face of the Magdalen and the foot of the Child pressed against her cheek. This work, in contradistinction to the "*Notte*" in Dresden is sometimes called "*Il Giorno*," the Day.

[19] The Gonzaghe chose Correggio to paint three pictures which they presented to Charles V. (see note 20). Count Carlo d'Arco (see Bibliography of Correggio) notes two pictures by Antonio, executed for Mantua, one being an Apollo and Marsyas, the other, Temperance, Fortitude, and Justice teaching a youth (evidently the Vice and Virtue of the Louvre), and Canon Braghirolli (see Bibliography) publishes a letter from Veronica Gambara to Isabella d'Este which mentions a picture by Correggio of a Kneeling Magdalen in the Desert. We have to add to the story of the misinterpretation of Correggio's genius the fact that neither Bembo nor Ariosto, though they met him in Parma, have mentioned his name, and this is not a little to the shame of such a boasted connoisseur as Bembo, and shows how much real initiative and independent knowledge of art the cardinal had when no Raphael or Sansovino was at his elbow. Only the Gonzaghe seem to have recognized that here was an artist, and the great marchioness Isabella and her descendants have no better title to our recognition of them as true art patrons than in the works which Antonio Allegri painted for the Mantuan lords.

[20] Several of Correggio's mythological pictures are famous. See Ricci (*op. cit.*, p. 301 *et seq.*). The Antiope and the Education of Cupid were painted as early as 1520 or 1521. The Antiope was sold in 1628 by the Duke of Mantua to Charles I. of England; after his death it belonged to the banker Jabach, to Mazarin, and to Louis XIV., and it is now in the Louvre. The Education of Cupid, bought also by King Charles, became afterward the property of the Duke of Alva, of Godoy, of Murat, was sold by Caroline Bonaparte to the Marquis of Londonderry and is now in the National Gallery. The pictures sent by Gonzaga to the Emperor Charles V. and painted after 1530 were the Leda, the Danae, and the Io. Vasari confuses them, calling one Venus and alluding also to the Cupids in the picture of Danae. The works went to Spain, then the Io and Danae fell to the possession of Leone Leoni, the sculptor and *protégé* of the emperor. In 1600 they went by purchase to the Emperor Rudolf at Prague. In 1702 the pictures were in Vienna, where two are at present. They have not, however, always been there, as in 1648 the Swedes captured and

painted with so much softness, and with shadows so admirably treated, that the carnations did not seem painted

carried to Stockholm the Leda, the Danae, and a copy of the Io, which had remained in Prague (see Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 313). Queen Christina of Sweden brought all three of them to Rome and they belonged successively to Cardinal Azzolini, the Duke of Bracciano, and the Regent Orleans. Louis d'Orleans, son of the regent, condemned the pictures as indecent, and the heads of the Leda and of the Io (the *replica*) were cut from the canvases. There is a tradition to the effect that Van Loo and Boucher both declined to undertake the restoration of these heads. These were eventually repainted by Schlesinger (the Leda) and Prudhon (the Io). Charles Coypel, the keeper of the gallery, saved the remainder of the two canvases; from him they passed to Pasquier, then to Frederic the Great, and they are now in Berlin. The Danae escaped mutilation, and belonged successively to the Bridgewater pictures, to Henry Hope, and eventually found its way to the Borghese Gallery. Two allegorical pictures, Vice and Virtue, by Correggio are in the Louvre. Signor Ricci doubts if the Ganymede be an original picture, but admits its beauty, while pointing out that the figure of Ganymede is identical with one of the angels in the pendentive (of St. Bernard) to the cupola of the cathedral of Parma. He adduces the unlikelihood of so spontaneous an artist as Correggio thus repeating himself.

Of the mythological pictures the Io and Danae are injured, the Leda is in still worse condition, the Antiope is admirably preserved. In the wonderful color of this picture there is no attempt at brush work in the modern sense, but the effect of flesh in sunlight and shadow is dazzling, and it is a notable example of Correggio's indifference to grand lines and his passion for foreshortening. Neither Raphael, Michelangelo, nor Leonardo would have been contented with these lines; they would have found a hundred poses more graceful and as natural; but the work is a masterpiece, and reveals a colorist less grand perhaps than the Venetians, but the *truest* in Italy. Morelli finds the Leda the most characteristic of Correggio's works (*correggeskeste werk des Antonio Allegri*). M. Müntz says (*op. cit.*, p. 577) that its coloring is not only dazzling, "it is even eloquent in its charm and distinction," and surpasses that of the Venetians, since "it is always combined with noble movement of line." The same author compares the closeness of workmanship and the decision shown in the Antiope with the "*fantaisie*" of the Leda, and he points out that in the Io of the Vienna Gallery the nymph has been to a certain extent imitated from one of the figures in Raphael's Farnesina. This parallel is interesting and just, for at the very first glance the Io is seen to have a more monumental character as to line and pose than have most of Correggio's figures; indeed, for M. Müntz's, attribution of "noble movement of line" one would be tempted to substitute varied, living, or striking movement of line It is rather by their *morbidezza* and charm of color that Correggio's mythological pictures take their high place than by their composition of line. Taine says well in The Ideal in Art: "At this moment one step only remains to be taken in order to complete the physical man; more stress must be laid on the coating of the muscles, on the softness

but to be truly the living flesh. In one of these pictures was a beautiful Landscape: in this respect there was indeed no Lombard who could surpass Correggio, he painted the hair moreover so admirably as to colour, and so delicately as to distinctness and finish, that nothing better could possibly be seen. There were besides Cupids trying their arrows on a stone, these weapons being formed with much judgment of lead and gold. A circumstance which imparted an added charm to this picture of the Venus, was an exceedingly bright and limpid stream running amidst pebbles and bathing the feet of the goddess, but scarcely concealing any part of them, so that the sight of their delicate whiteness almost dazzled the eyes beholding them. For these works Antonio certainly merited all praise and honour during his life, and well deserved to be celebrated both by word and in writings with the utmost glory after his death. Correggio painted a figure of the Virgin also in Modena,[21] and this work was held in great esteem by all painters, who considered it to be the best picture possessed by that city. In Bologna likewise, there is a work by Antonio, in the Palace of the Ercolani,[22] one of the noble fami-

and tone of the living skin, on the delicate and varied vitality of the sensitive flesh. Correggio and the Venetians take this step and art stands still."

[21] Dr. Meyer thinks it probable that this picture, referred to also in the life of Girolamo da Carpi, is the Marriage of St. Catherine in the presence of the Virgin and S. Sebastian (now in the Louvre), and that this picture was executed in 1517 or 1518. Signor Ricci disagrees with Dr. Meyer; he attributes the Correggio of the Louvre to some time after the year 1522. He thinks that the *replica* in the Naples museum is a copy by Annibale Caracci, and says that still other *repliche* in the collections of Signor Paolo Fabrizi, in Rome, and of Dr. Theodore Schall, at Berlin, are considered genuine by most critics. Another marriage of St. Catherine (1512–1514) belongs to Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni.

[22] The following passage is taken from Vasari's life of Girolamo da Carpi:

Now, at that time there had been a work by the hand of Antonio Correggio transported to Bologna and deposited in the house of the Counts Ercolani. The subject of the picture was our Saviour Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene in the form of the Gardener; and this painting, which was executed with a degree of perfection, and finished with a softness to which no words could do justice—this work, I say, did so possess itself of the heart of Girolamo, that he could not satisfy himself with copying it, and at length set

lies of that place; the subject of this painting is Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in the Garden, a very beautiful

off for Modena, to see the other works of Correggio in that place. Arrived there accordingly, Girolamo was filled with admiration at the sight of what he beheld, but he was struck with astonishment by one among them more than by all besides. This was a large picture, which is, indeed, most divine: the subject of the work is Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, the infant being in the act of placing the ring on the finger of Santa Caterina, whom he is espousing. There is, besides, a San Sebastiano and other figures, with expressions of countenance so beautiful that those faces appear to have been made in Paradise; the hair and hands, moreover, are such that it is not possible to imagine anything more perfect in their kind, nor can anything painted be more natural or life-like.

From the Doctor, Messer Francesco Grillenzoni, the owner of the picture, and who had been an intimate friend of Correggio, Da Carpi obtained permission to copy the same, which he did with all the care that it is possible to conceive. He afterward did as much in respect to the picture of San Pietro Martire,* which Correggio had painted for a company of laymen, by which it is held in high estimation, which it so justly deserves. In this work, to say nothing of the other figures, there is most particularly to be remarked that of the Infant Christ in the lap of the Virgin Mother, and this does truly appear to breathe. The figure of San Pietro Martire also is eminently beautiful.

Girolamo likewise copied a small but no less admirable picture by the same master, which belonged to the brotherhood of San Sebastiano, for whom Correggio had painted it.† All these works, thus copied by Girolamo, improved his manner to such an extent that it was no longer the same thing, and did not appear to be his own.

From Modena Girolamo proceeded to Parma, where he had heard that there were also works by Correggio, and where he copied certain of the pictures in the apsis of the Cathedral, among them an admirably fore-shortened figure of our Lord ascending into Heaven and surrounded by numerous Angels, while the Apostles are standing beneath in contemplation of that miracle.‡ Girolamo likewise copied the four Saints, protectors of Parma, by

* The St. Peter the Martyr was one of those pictures which passed from the Gallery of the House of Este to that of the King of Poland; it is now in the Dresden Gallery, where it is called the St. George, from the circumstance of that saint holding a prominent position in the picture.

† This picture is not a small, but rather a large one. This also is in the Dresden Gallery, where it is known as the Madonna di Sebastiano.

‡ Vasari here corrects the mistake which he had previously made, of placing this work in the Church of St. John the Baptist; Bottari considers him to have taken the opportunity here offered for speaking of Correggio's works, partly to the end that he might add certain notices received after the Life of Correggio had been written, and correct some few mistakes into which he had fallen while preparing that biography.

thing.[23] Another admirable and delightful work by Antonio was formerly at Reggio ; but no long time since, Messer Luciano Pallavicino, a great admirer of fine paintings, passing through that place, happened to see the picture, and without regard to the cost thereof secured it as one who had bought some precious jewel, and despatched it to his house in Genoa. In the same city of Reggio there is a picture by this master, the subject of which is the Birth of Christ; in this work, the light proceeding from the person of the divine Child throws its splendour on the shepherds and around all the figures who are contemplating the infant ; many other beautiful thoughts are made manifest by our artist in this picture, among others is one, expressed by the figure of a woman, who, desiring to look fixedly at the Saviour, is not able with her mortal sight to endure the glory of his divinity, which appears to cast its rays full on her figure ; she is therefore shading her eyes with her hand : all this is so admirably expressed that it seems quite wonderful. Over the cabin wherein the divine Child is laid, there hovers a choir of angels singing, and so exquisitely painted, that they seem rather to have been showered

whom the niches are occupied ; these are San Giovanni Battista, who has a Lamb in his hand ; St. Joseph, the Spouse of Our Lady ; the Florentine, San Bernardo degli Uberti, who was a cardinal and bishop of Florence ; with another saint who was also a bishop.

In the Church of San Giovanni Evangelista, moreover, Girolamo studied the figures of the principal chapel, which is in the apsis of that church, these being in like manner by the hand of Correggio, the Coronation of Our Lady namely, with figures of San Giovanni Evangelista, of the Baptist, of San Benedetto, San Placido, and a large number of Angels, who surround the principal group. He likewise copied the admirable figures which are in the Chapel of San Joseffo in the Church of San Sepolcro, a work that may be truly called divine.

[23] The *Noli me tangere*, painted 1524–26 (and once in the Ercolani Palace), is in the Prado Museum at Madrid. Doubted by Dr. Meyer, it is accepted by Signors Ricci and Frizzoni as an early Correggio, not only authentic but eminently characteristic, in spite of the damage which it has suffered at the hands of restorers. Morelli accepts this picture and considers as false the other attributions to Correggio of works in the Madrid collection.

down from Heaven than formed by the hand of the painter.[24] In the same city there is a small picture by Correggio, not more than a foot high, which is one of the most extraordinary and most beautiful of his works ; the figures are small, the subject Christ in the Garden,[25] the time chosen being night,

[24] This is the famous picture in the Dresden Gallery called *La Notte* of Correggio. Alberto Pratonero ordered it, October 14, 1522, for the Church of San Prospero in Reggio ; it was finished in 1530. In May, 1640, the picture was "sacrilegiously carried off" by the Duke Francesco to Modena. It is an irony of fate that the pictures of the man whose material career during life could not for temporal splendor compare with that of some second-rate artists, witness Giulio Romano, should have been the constant subject of such intelligent covetousness on the part of the sovereigns of Parma and Modena, and of such intelligent and conservative zeal on the part of the townsmen. The history of every one of Correggio's altar-pieces is the story of violence or theft on the part of princely robbers, of riot, litigation, or at best of bitter complaint, on the side of the despoiled parishioners. Besides this Nativity called Correggio's "Night," and the St. Jerome called the "Day," see note 18, there are three other great altar-pieces, the Madonnas of the Scodella, of St. George, and of St. Sebastian. The latter, now in Dresden, was painted in 1525 for the Confraternity of S. Sebastian in Modena. The picture has been very greatly injured by over-painting and cleaning. The Madonna della Scodella in the Parma Gallery has been given various dates (Pungileoni and Meyer, 1527-28 ; Mme. Mignaty, 1526 ; Ricci, 1529-30). This picture escaped the exciting adventures of most of the other altar-pieces. Its beautiful frame, which critics believe to have been designed by Correggio himself, was removed in 1796, but replaced in 1893. In this charming picture the St. Joseph is the least fortunate figure, his attitude is unsatisfactory and he is so badly draped that the foreshortening does not explain itself at all ; indeed so confused a piece of draping can rarely be found in a work of the epoch. The Madonna, with St. George, was in the *Scuola* of St. Peter Martyr, at Modena ; like the St. Sebastian and the "Night," it was sold to the Saxon Elector and is in Dresden, Francesco I., of Este, having taken it by violence from the monks. It is the best preserved of the Dresden Correggios, but it must be admitted that they have all suffered greatly and can be better appreciated when they are seen in black and white reproductions than in the originals. The San Giorgio altar-piece has great charm and is thoroughly in the character of Correggio's works, but also exhibits his faults. The Virgin, unpleasantly foreshortened, is even squat, and the picture is a notable example of the master's tendency to throw out the hips of his figures in a *desinvoltura* which is almost dislocation.

[25] This picture (1520-24) is at Apsley House, London, and a copy is in the National Gallery. The original was found in Joseph Bonaparte's travelling carriage after the battle of Vittoria. It was returned to the King of Spain, who presented it to the Duke of Wellington. The subject is Christ's Agony in the Garden. The picture is a fine example of Correggio's effects of

and the angel appearing to the Saviour illumines his person with the splendour of his rays, an effect displayed with so much truth that nothing better could be either imagined or expressed ; on a plain at the foot of the mountain are seen the three Apostles lying asleep : the shadow of the eminence on which the Saviour is in prayer falls over these figures, imparting to them a degree of force which it would not be possible adequately to describe in words. In the farther distance is a tract of country over which the day is just breaking, and from one side approaches Judas with soldiers. Notwithstanding its minute size, this work is admirably conceived, and so finely executed that no work of the kind can bear comparison with it, whether as to the beauty and depth of thought apparent in the picture, or the patience with which it has been treated.

Of the works of this artist much more might be said ; [26]

chiaroscuro. The *Ecce Homo* of the National Gallery in London is contemporaneous with this picture of the Agony.

[26] The Reading Magdalen of Dresden has been the subject of one of Morelli's most famous criticisms (see Italian Masters in German Galleries, pp. 129, 137). The distinguished connoisseur claims that the picture is of a much later time than that of Correggio, and is by a Fleming, and bases his arguments partly upon the assertion that no one painted upon copper before the seventeenth century. His arguments have been admitted by Signor Ricci and many other critics, but M. Müntz (*op. cit.*, p. 575) is not disposed to accept this disposal of the subject without final and irrefragable proof, and thinks that if readmitted among Correggio's works the Magdalen might count as one of his most original and poetic pictures. Dr. Henry Thode claims as an undoubted youthful work of Correggio, a Madonna with the Two Children, dated 1517, in the gallery of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and believes it to be the Casalmaggiore Madonna once in the Ducal Gallery of Modena. Signor G. Frizzoni, *L'Arch. Stor.*, III. 408, 409, appears not to be entirely convinced. Herr C. Von Fabriczy, *Una Composizione del Correggio*, *L'Arch. Stor.*, III., p. 162, mentions a Venus Disarming Cupid as in the Simonis collection at Müllerhof, near Strasbourg. Morelli attributes (and Ricci accepts the attribution) to Correggio, a Young Faun in the Munich Gallery, a Nativity belonging to Signor G. Crespi of Milan, a Holy Family, owned by Prince Hohenzollern Sigmaringen, a *Congedo della Vergine*, sold into England, and also a little picture in the *Saletta d'opere diverse* of the Uffizi and there attributed to Titian. Dr. Ricci also admits as genuine pictures, of about 1515–17, the Repose in Egypt (in the Uffizi) ; La Zingarella (Naples) ; the Madonna with St. James (Hampton Court) ; Madonna with the Children (Prado) ; Malaspina Madonna (Pavia) ; Bolognini

but since every thing he has done is held to be as something divine among the most eminent masters of our calling, I will not expatiate further. I have made many efforts to obtain his portrait, but he never took it himself, nor ever had it taken by others, seeing that he lived much in retirement; I have therefore not been able to procure it,[27] Correggio was indeed a person who held himself in but very slight esteem, nor could he even persuade himself that he knew any thing satisfactorily respecting his art; perceiving its difficulties, he could not give himself credit for approaching the perfection to which he would so fain have seen it carried; he was a man who contented himself with very little, and always lived in the manner of a good Christian.[28]

The cares of his family caused Antonio to be very sparing, insomuch that he ultimately became exceedingly penurious.[29] On this subject it is related, that being at Parma, and having there received a payment of sixty scudi, the sum was given to him in copper money, which he, desiring to carry it to Correggio for some particular demand,

Madonna (Museo Artistico Municipale, Milan); Madonna and Child, with Singing Angels (Uffizi). As of about 1518–19, the Campori Madonna at Modena, Christ with the Virgin, Mary Magdalen, and St. John (in Mr. Benson's collection, London); the Madonna del Latte (Buda-Pesth); the Madonna della Cesta (National Gallery); the Virgin Adoring the Infant (Uffizi); 1520–24, the St. Martha of the Ashburton Collection; 1526–28, St. Catherine Pleading (Hampton Court).

[27] Critics are united in admitting that no portrait of Correggio has ever come to light; for various pretended portraits, see Dr. Ricci, *op. cit.*, 328 *et seq.* Dr. Meyer discusses in detail the various portraits which claim to be original; Dr. Richter tells us that Dosso Dossi painted Correggio, and that the picture went to England, but has not been identified.

[28] Delicate and sensitive Correggio must have been, but it is hard to think of him as morbid; the relative neglect with which his works were treated may have made him melancholy. As for his timidity, however modestly he held *himself*, he must have known that his art was great, and all the legend of his obscurity has not been able to stifle his cry of "*Anch io son pittore*," which, apocryphal as to fact, is true as to spirit.

[29] "That he was miserly we do not believe," says Signor Ricci (*op. cit.*, p. 334); "an amicable arrangement, due to his initiative, brought a long litigation over a disputed inheritance to an end." On the other hand, the writer readily admits that he may have been careful and saving.

loaded himself withal; he then set forward on foot for his home. The heat being very great at the time, Antonio suffered much from the burning sun, and sought to refresh himself by drinking water, but a raging fever compelled him to take to his bed, and from this he never raised his head again, but departed from this life to another,[30] being then in the fortieth year of his age, or thereabouts.[31]

[30] At the meridian of the Renaissance, when great artists were petted by popes and princes, and honored and loved by their fellows, Correggio, at the very time when he was making not only his native town, but also his provincial capital of Parma, immortal, was himself, if we compare him with Leonardo, Raphael, or Michelangelo, living in positive obscurity. This neglect could not but astonish a Florentine or a Roman who saw his works, and the tradition of it evidently grew into the legend of the tragedy which Vasari recounts; but sixty scudi in copper would have weighed more than three hundred pounds, and the story of the death of Correggio is a fable. Documents prove that he belonged to people (see note 5) who were well enough off to be quite comfortable in a little town like Correggio, where moderate means meant comparative affluence. He received some instruction in letters and philosophy. He executed important commissions while still very young, and afterwards became, in a modest way, a landowner. But all this only proves that Correggio did not suffer from pinching necessity; that he did suffer from the inability to give entire vent to his artistic endeavor is only too well proved by the fact that he never went to Rome, Florence, or further afield than Mantua, although in Parma itself, if we reckon wall surface as a criterion, few painters have had an ampler opportunity while hardly any have used it so well. But complete appreciation was what he lacked, and the latter part of his life was evidently saddened by the lack of sympathy of his Parmesan patrons. The monks did not spare criticism of his frescoes in the Duomo and leaving his work unfinished Correggio, this mighty master whose name counts among the six or eight most famous in the history of art, retired to his obscure native town and ended his days there. "What a misfortune," says M. Müntz, "that in this rich and refined Italy of the sixteenth century there was not an amateur clear-sighted enough to recognize the genius of Correggio, a poet to sing his glory, a Mecænas who should take him away from his narrow surroundings to set him in his true place, Rome, the Vatican, where he alone was worthy to continue the work of Raphael."

[31] Antonio Allegri died in Correggio March 5, 1534; he was buried on the 6th in the Arrivabene Chapel of S. Francesco. In 1641, in consequence of restorations, the tomb was destroyed and his bones were reinterred (see Ricci, quoting Bulbarini) quite near the same spot, close by "where the monument of Conti now is." In 1786 Ercole III., Duke of Modena, wishing to imitate the Accademia di San Luca of Rome, which falsely claimed to preserve Raphael's skull, pretended to have found the skull of Correggio; not only was the said skull proved to have been that of an old woman, but even the fraudulent

His pictures were executed towards the year 1512, and the art derived great benefit from his labours, seeing that the colours were handled by him in the manner of a true master, and that the Lombards were induced by his example to open their eyes ; the result of this has been that painting has seen more than one fine genius belonging to that country subsequently following his steps ; some of them producing works highly commendable, and well deserving to be had in remembrance.[32] Among other peculiarities,

letters referring to the affair have been discovered. This skull is still shown in Modena !

[32] Antonio Allegri of Correggio was a colorist and chiaroscurist of the highest order ; as a colorist he was unequalled in Italy outside of Venice, as a chiaroscurist he was an Italian Rembrandt, if we consider his skill in the distribution of light, but was the very opposite of the Fleming in the spirit of his religious pictures. To those who think superficially Correggio is, as a painter of flying angels and radiant glories, an arch-idealist ; to those who reason more carefully, he is an arch-realist, almost *the* realist of Italian art. What differentiates him from the accepted realist is this, the latter only too often makes realism and ugliness synonymous, Correggio's is realism by selection applied only to the beautiful. But it is realism ; not one painter in the whole range of Italian art so hated what he understood to be conventionality. If his subject is above, it must be seen from underneath, no matter how the point of view may detract from the beauty of the work ; his architecture must be painted in simulated perspective ; he will tolerate nothing which by its perspective would fall out if it were real. He attempts the impossible until he unwittingly falls into a conventionality of his own making, since his arrangement of architecture and figures requires that the spectator shall place himself in a foreordained spot. Thus his very freedom becomes a restraint, and his result is anomalous, since his selection of only beautiful figures is hampered by his determination to be true, that is, to foreshorten them violently wherever their place in a fresco may seem to require such treatment. Now violent foreshortening is generally unbeautiful, hence conventionality and its relative superiority. Not even Correggio can reconcile us to heads which spring from the centre of men's chests, or to figures which are all calf and thigh. It is enough to say that he more than any other painter does reconcile us to such presentation by other qualities, technical and spiritual.

His tremendous personality teems with lessons, offers examples of good and bad in which the good asserts itself finally and triumphantly. Burckhardt says that there are those who "have a right to hate him," and Burckhardt's criticism is valuable and admirable for the very reason that seeing clearly the faults of the great Emilian painter, he, nevertheless, praises him heartily, admits that he paints the "finest movements of nervous life." and affects us "with a demoniac force." As a draughtsman Correggio is great in his feeling for movement, but he is indifferent to that monumental sense of

Correggio had that of painting the hair with great facility, and has shown to later artists the true method whereby the difficulties of accomplishing this point may be overcome, an advantage for which all succeeding painters are largely indebted to him. It was indeed at the instance of the artists belonging to our vocation that Messer Fabio Segni, a Florentine gentleman, composed the following verses :—

Hujus cum regeret mortales spiritus artus
Pictoris, Charites supplicuere Jovi :

line so dear to the Florentines and to Raphael. Some of the attitudes which he chooses for his figures, notably for his old men, are even clumsy, others, especially the movements of his angels, are full of fire. Characterization did not greatly interest him; he cared little for the subtle differentiation of features; he so deliberately eschewed emaciation and tense, close modelling of faces that his old men rarely look really old, and lack dignity correspondingly. But by his color he compels us as he wills, there is no *parti pris* in it, as with a Venetian, but he steeps everything in a light-filled medium which penetrates and goes behind things, just as it does in the Dutch pictures, only with Correggio these *things* are Madonna and flying angels, instead of Flemish cobblers cross-legged on counters, nymphs and cupids in place of peasants at a Kermesse. In composition we feel with Correggio when he arranges his groups the same relative indifference to severity of line that he manifests in his single figures; indeed when Correggio composes, it is with light and shade rather than with lines or colors, and here he comes nearer to a *parti-pris* arrangement than he does in the exercise of any other pictorial gift. His light he arranges with infinite skill and comprehension; he knew "how to anatomize light and shade," says Kugler, but even here if he is not exactly unconventional he is at least always real. Burckhardt, his severest critic, quite oversteps the bounds of criticism in demanding that Correggio's realism should be ethical. "What good," he says, "could we expect from these creations if they came to life;" and he compares the artist, to his disadvantage, with Raphael and Michelangelo. But we do not know what the Night and Day of Michelangelo would do if they too began to breathe and move; they would be Titanic certainly, but how would they use their force? What evil could we find in Correggio's people? If bright and joyous spirits are celestial, why so are his; he laughs and smiles by choice, but he smiles as Michelangelo frowns, sublimely; elevation is his, and elevation is ethical, for in spite of his lack of restraint and his exaggeration of illusion in mock architecture, the outpouring of spirit, the sweep and power shown in his Assumption of the Virgin, make him one of the half-dozen sublime masters of Italian painting, and we echo Ludwig Tieck's words: "Let no one say he has seen Italy, let no one think he has learnt the lofty secrets of art, till he has seen thee and thy cathedral, O Parma!"

Non alia pingi dextra, Pater alm, rogamus :*
Hunc præter, nulli pingere nos liceat.
Annuit his votis summi regnator Olympi,
Et juvenem subito sidera † ad alta tulit,
Ut posset melius Charitum simulacra referre
Præsens, et nudas cerneret inde Deas.

* *Alme* in the Milanesi edition. † *Sydera* in the Milanesi edition.

BRAMANTE DA URBINO, ARCHITECT

[Born 1444; died 1514.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Baron H. von Geymüller, after devoting the greater part of his life to the study of Bramante, has published a work entitled *Les Projets primitifs pour la Basilique de Saint Pierre de Rome par Bramante, Raphael Sanzio, Fra Giocondo, les San Gallo, etc.*, Paris and Vienna, 1875–80. It is printed with both German and French texts. See also, among other articles by him, The School of Bramante, in the Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, 1891, and *Bramante et la restauration de Sainte Marie des Graces, à Milan*, *Gazette Archéologique*, 1887, p. 162. Among other works relating to the architect are C. Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaele Sanzio da Urbino ed alcune di lui opere, intorno Bramante Lazeri, Giuliano da San Gallo, Baldassar Peruzzi, Michelangelo, Buonarotti e Pirro Ligorio, come Architetti di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Rome, 1822. L. Pungileoni, *Memoria intorno alla vita ed alle opere di Donato o Donnino Bramante*, Rome, 1836. Casati, *I Capi d'arte di Bramante nel Milanese*, Milan, 1870. Caffi, *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 1871. C. A. Jovanovits, *Forschungen über den Bau der Peterskirche zu Rom*, Vienna, 1887. Letarouilly and Simil, *Le Vatican et la Basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome*, Paris, 1882. D. Gnoli, *La Casa di Raffaello*, Rome, 1887. L. Beltrami, *Bramante poeta*, Milan, 1884. H. Semper, *Bramante*, in the Dohme series of *Kunst und Künstler*. Leon Palustre, *Bramante*, article in *La Grande Encyclopédie*. A. von Schmarsow, article in *L'art*, 1881, II., pp. 201–206. W. von Seidlitz, *Bramante in Mailand*, in the *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VIII., 183. Domenico Gnoli, *La Cancelleria ed Altri Palazzi a Roma attribuiti a Bramante*, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, V., 176–184, and also *Nuovo Accesso alla Piazza di San Pietro in Roma*, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II., 138-152. Adamo Rossi, *Nuovo Documente su Bramante*, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., 135. A. Mari, *Della vita e delle opere di maestro Bramante da Urbino, cenni Storici*, Ferrara, 1889.

VERY important advantages, without doubt, resulted to architecture from the new methods of proceeding adopted by Filippo Brunelleschi, he having imitated, and, after the lapse of many ages, restored to light, the most important works of the learned and excellent masters of antiquity. But no less useful to our age was Bramante,

for, preserving the traces of Filippo and following in his footsteps, being also full of determination, power, genius, and knowledge, not theoretic only but extensively and thoroughly practical, he rendered the road to the acquirement of true science in architecture most secure and easy to all who followed after him. A more exalted genius could not well have been imparted by nature to any artist, than that conferred on Bramante, nor could any master display a more profound acquaintance with the principles of his art, more rigid adherence to the proportions of his works, or a richer variety of invention in their decoration, than may be found in those executed by this architect. But not even all these qualities were more than was demanded at that time, seeing that Julius II., a prince full of the boldest designs and earnestly desirous of leaving due memorials of himself to succeeding ages, was then Pope. And very fortunate was it, both for him and for us, that Bramante did meet with such a prince (for very rarely does such good fortune happen to men of great genius), one at whose cost he was furnished with opportunities which rendered it possible for him to display the resources of the power with which he was endowed, and prove to the world that mastery over the difficulties of his art, the evidences of which are so much admired in his works. The extraordinary merit of this architect is indeed obvious, not only in the general arrangement of buildings erected by him, but also and equally in their various details : the first projection and mouldings of the cornices for example, the shafts of the columns, the grace and elegance of the capitals and bases, the careful adjustment of the consoles and finish of angles, the vaultings, the staircases, the buttresses, ressaults, and other supports —all received his attention in due measure, as did every other arrangement required for the completion of the whole edifice ; insomuch that every architectural work constructed by his counsels or after his designs is an object of surprise as well as delight to all who behold it. Wherefore it appears to me that the lasting gratitude justly due to the ancients,

by those whose studies enable them to derive improvement from their labours, is due in no less degree to the labours of Bramante, from those who benefit by them: for if the Greeks invented that architecture which the Romans imitated, Bramante did more than the latter, since he not only imitated, but, imparting to us what they had taught, in a new and ameliorated form, he added unwonted graces and beauties to the art, which we receive ennobled and embellished by his efforts.

This master was born at Castello Durante,[1] in the state of Urbino, his parents being of good condition though very poor. In his childhood he was taught to read and write, in addition to which he applied himself with great industry to the study of arithmetic, but his father, to whom it was needful that the son should gain somewhat for himself, perceiving him to take great delight in drawing, turned his attention while still but a child to the art of painting. He studied therefore very zealously, more especially the works of Fra Bartolommeo, otherwise called Fra Carnavale,[2] of Urbino, by whom the picture of Santa Maria della Bella, in that city was painted. But Bramante found his principal pleasure in architecture and the study of perspec-

[1] Various writers give as Bramante's birthplace Castel Durante (now also called Urbania), Stretta, Fermignano, Monte San Pietro, and Urbino itself. M. Müntz names the villa of Monte Asdrualdo, near Fermignano, three miles from Urbino, as the architect's birthplace, and the year 1444 as the date of his birth. Milanesi quotes from Baron von Geymüller, with even more detail, citing the little farm called "*Del Colle*" (The Hill-farm), this being in the same territory as the villa of Monte Asdrualdo. See Baron H. von Geymüller's important work, *Les Projets primitifs pour la Basilique de St. Pierre de Rome*. According to Baron von Geymüller the architect belonged to the Bramante family, and not to the Lazzari, as has often been asserted. The surname Asdruvaldinus is derived from Monte Asdrualdo or Asdrubale.

[2] This was Fra Bartolommeo Corradino, a Dominican brother. Bramante must also have seen, in Urbino, the architectural works of Luciano da Laurana. Though Baron von Geymüller denies that Bramante was a pupil of this master, he admits that they must have come into contact with each other; the same critic considers that Bramante was also influenced by Leon Battista Alberti. We know little of Bramante's life until he was twenty-eight years old; according to Fra Sabba da Castiglione his masters in painting were Piero della Francesca and Mantegna.

tive, he departed therefore from Castel Durante, and proceeded to Lombardy, repairing first to one city and then to another, working in each meanwhile as he best could. His undertakings of that period were however not of a costly kind, or such as could do the architect much honour, since he had then neither interest nor reputation ; but to the end that he might at least see something of works of merit, he removed to Milan to examine the Duomo. There was at that time a good architect and geometrician living in Milan, called Cesare Cesariano, who had written a commentary on Vitruvius, but falling into despair at finding himself disappointed in the remuneration he had expected to receive for that work, he sank into so strange a state, that he would work no more, and his peculiarities increasing, he became utterly distracted, and died more like the beasts that perish than like a Christian man. At the same time, in the same city, lived the Milanese, Bernardino da Trevio, who was engineer and architect of the Duomo, he was admirable in design and was held by Leonardo da Vinci to be a most excellent master, although his manner is somewhat crude and his paintings are hard and dry. At the upper end of the cloister of Santa Maria delle Grazie, there is an Ascension of Christ by Bernardino da Trevio, wherein the observer will remark some very admirable foreshortenings. In San Francesco also, he painted a chapel in fresco, the subject being the death of San Pietro and that of San Paolo. In Milan and the neighbourhood of that city, there are likewise many other works by this master, all held in high estimation, and in my book of drawings I have a female head by his hand, very beautifully executed in charcoal and white lead, from which a very fair notion of his manner may be obtained.

But to return to Bramante after having thoroughly studied that fabric (the Duomo),[3] and made the acquaint-

[3] The account-books of the cathedral of Milan, published *in extenso*, do not mention the Urbinate architect until 1488-90, when he was already famous. He is said to have made a model for the cupola of the cathedral in 1487.

ance of the above-named engineers, he became inspirited to such a degree, that he resolved to devote himself entirely to architecture. Thereupon he departed from Milan,[4] and repaired to Rome, where he arrived immediately before the commencement of the holy year 1500. By the interposition of the friends whom he had in that city, some of whom were his fellow-countrymen, others Lombards, he received a commission to paint the armorial bearings of Pope Alexander VI. in fresco over the holy door of San Giovanni Laterano, which is opened on the occasion of the Jubilee; these he surrounded with angels and added other figures, as supporters of the escutcheon.[5]

[4] With Bramante the leading rôle in Italian architecture passes from the Tuscan to the Urbinate, and the theatre changes from the centre of Italy to Lombardy. In 1472–74 Bramante settled in the Milanese territory. His works as painter have perished, except a few portraits in fresco in the Palazzo Panigarola-Prignetti at Milan. In that city he built, in 1485, the sacristy of San Satiro; commenced, in 1492, the cloister of Sant' Ambrogio, and in the same year had carried the eastern portions of S. Maria delle Grazie as far west as the drum. In 1493 he went to Rome and Florence, and in 1494 was again in the north at Vigevano. He built the church of Abbiate Grasso in 1477 (according to Baron von Geymüller), or 1497 (according to Herr Seidlitz); his last work in Milan was the monastery of Sant' Ambrogio, now the military hospital. After the fall of Ludovico Sforza he went to Rome, in 1499. M. Müntz considers that some of his first works prove that he must have made an earlier visit to Tuscany than has been generally supposed. Among the buildings in Milan chronicled as being by Bramante (see Milanesi and Müntz, quoting Geymüller, Casati, Mongeri, and others) are: The cloister of Sant' Ambrogio, 1492; the monastery of Sant' Ambrogio, 1498; in S. Maria delle Grazie; (1492) cloister, sacristy, door, cupola, refectory, chapel of S. Paolo; 1494, tomb in S. Maria delle Grazie of a son of Duke Ludovico; in Santa Maria presso San Satiro, church, first portion (on the Via del Falcone) between the cupola and the chapel of San Satiro, *circa* 1474; chapel of San Teodoro, 1497; *nicchia*, nave, sacristy, beginning of *façade*, 1498; Santa Radegonda, exterior left side, first irregular cloister; in the Spedale Maggiore, nine gothic windows in the great court, half of the portico which looks to the north; pilasters, *basso-relievi*, etc.; Archbishopric (1493–97), great court; two sides of the portico, and supports of the balcony and certain work in the *Castello* and the *Rocchetta*. See Milanesi, IV., 152, note 2. There is a table of works executed by Bramante, either under his direction or from his designs, as well as those attributed to him, in Baron von Geymüller's book, *Les Projets primitifs*, etc., pp. 105–115.

[5] These arms were destroyed during changes in the building. De Pagave ascribed to Bramante the churches of San Stefano, San Bernardo, and the

Bramante had brought some money with him from Lombardy and had gained other sums in Rome by certain works which he had executed there; these funds he husbanded with care, expending them with extreme frugality, because he desired to live for a time on his means, and not to be distracted by other occupations from the labours which he proposed to undertake among the ancient buildings of Rome, all of which he was anxious to study, wishing to obtain accurate measurements of them, entirely at his leisure.[6]

He commenced this labour accordingly; in solitude and deep thought he pursued it to its completion, and in no long time had examined and measured all the buildings of antiquity that were in the city of Rome and its neighbourhood, with all that were to be found in the Campagna; he

Duomo in Faenza. Baron von Geymüller finds that these buildings resemble Bramante's style sufficiently to be attributable to him (saving that San Stefano was *built* in 1518), provided any proof of his sojourn in Faenza can be found. The cathedrals of Foligno and Città di Castello, and the portico of the Duomo of Spoleto, attributed to Bramante, are not by him; Santa Maria del Monte, near Cesena, may be his work. The fine church of La Consolazione, at Todi, may be Bramante's, thinks the critic, as to plan and design of the exterior, but he believes the interior to be by an inferior hand. See Milanesi (quoting Baron H. von Geymüller), IV., 148, note 1 *et seq.* Bramante also built the admirable church of Abbiate Grasso (1477 according to Baron von Geymüller, 1497 according to Herr Seidlitz), the *façade* of which resembles Alberti's Sant' Andrea of Mantua. Bramante directed too at various times certain interior constructions in the castle of Vigevano, in the cathedrals of Pavia and Como, and is said to have made, in 1490, a design, which was never carried out, for the church of the Incoronata at Lodi.

[6] It was not till 1499 that Bramante definitely settled at Rome. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 375, points out the differences between the models offered by Milan and Rome, differences which were almost as great as the distance between modern society and the antique world. He shows that the architect, who was then nearly sixty years old, had to take into account the needs and tastes of the pontifical court, which had inherited a leaning toward severity of line (nowhere does decorative sculpture play so subordinate a part as at Rome), and also that he had to deal not with the brick of the north, but with unfamiliar materials, such as travertine and *peperino*. "If he wished an audience he must now build grandly, not gracefully; the Pantheon, the Colosseum, the Baths of Diocletian, these were the overwhelming examples of which he must needs take account."

had even pursued his researches as far as Naples, and visited all places wherein he could ascertain that ancient buildings were to be found. The remains still existing at Tivoli, and in the villa of Adrian were studiously measured by Bramante, who profited largely by these examinations, as will be declared in the proper place. These pursuits caused his talents to become known to the Cardinal of Naples,[7] who began to remark, and eventually to favour his progress. While Bramante, therefore, was continuing his studies as here described, it came into the mind of the Cardinal to rebuild a cloister in Travertine, for the monks of the Pace, and this work he committed to Bramante.[8] Whereupon, being very anxious to make gain as well as to acquire the good will of the Cardinal, he gave himself to the work with the utmost zeal and diligence, by which means he quickly brought it to a most successful conclusion. It is true that the building was not one of distinguished beauty, but it obtained a great name for the architect, seeing that there were but few masters in Rome, who then devoted themselves to architecture with the zealous study and promptitude of execution which distinguished Bramante.

In the commencement of his labours, this master served as under architect to Pope Alexander VI. when that Pontiff was constructing the Fountain in the Trastevere, as likewise for that which he also erected on the Piazza of St. Peter,[9] but his reputation having increased, he was invited to take part with other eminent architects in the greater

[7] Oliviero Caraffa.

[8] Bramante has been reproached with having introduced in the second story of this cloister (La Pace, 1504) columns which bear "upon the open," that is to say upon the centre of arches which are directly below them instead of upon vertical supporting members. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 380, notes that the architect wished to avoid the wide spacing of earlier Renaissance cloisters, and certainly whether he was right or wrong Bramante showed his feeling for the picturesque, for every observer must have felt a shock at a certain wide-open look, a slightly, almost flimsily, supported appearance, that is given to certain Tuscan cloisters by their slender columns placed at very considerable intervals and bearing wide, spreading arches.

[9] These fountains were replaced by others.

number of the consultations which were held respecting the Palace of San Giorgio, and the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, which Raffaello Riario, Cardinal of San Giorgio, was at that time about to build near the Campo di Fiore.[10] And although better works may have been executed at a later period, yet this palace, were it only for its extent, has ever been considered and still continues to be thought a splendid and commodious habitation; the works of this fabric were conducted by Antonio Monticavallo. Bramante was likewise consulted in respect to the proposed enlargement of the church of San Jacopo degli Spagnuoli, situate on the Piazza Navona: he took part also in the deliberations relating to Santa Maria dell'Anima; the building of which was afterwards entrusted to a German architect, and designed[11] the palace of the Cardinal Adriano da Corneto in the Borgo Nuovo,[12] which was built very slowly and ultimately remained unfinished,[13] in consequence of the Car-

[10] Signor Domenico Gnoli, *La Cancelleria ed altri Palazzi a Roma attribuiti a Bramante*, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, V., pp. 176–184, makes a statement which is of the greatest importance to the history of Italian art in declaring that this San Damaso, or Cancelleria palace, is not by Bramante at all, but was built some years before he came to Rome. Both historical and traditional bases are lacking to prove that it was his work. The palace is Tuscan, but resembles the Piccolomini palace at Pienza, and even more the Rucellai of Florence. The old guide-books attribute it to the San Galli, also to the "San Galli *or* Bramante," finally toward the end of the eighteenth century the more famous name obtains. Signor Gnoli finds that were we to accept the Cancelleria as Bramante's we should have to place its "almost infantine grace and timidity" between the rich variety of the architect's Lombard work and the grandeur of his Roman style, and the critic calls this palace the last graceful product of that Tuscan *quattrocento* art which Bramante made an end of that he might base upon it the Roman art of the *cinquecento*. For Signor Gnoli's comparison of the Cancelleria with Bramante's two styles, see *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, V., pp. 176–184; for his review of the Lombard work of the architect, see pp. 331–334. If accepted as final, this conclusion of Signor Gnoli is of capital interest, since the Cancelleria has not only been long believed to be the work of Bramante, but has been cited again and again as *the* example of his transitional period.

[11] In 1503.

[12] Now Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia.

[13] Only the door was unfinished, and this was completed in the eighteenth century, but not in the style of Bramante. See Milanesi, IV., p. 155, note 33.

dinal's flight. The enlargement of the principal chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore was also effected according to the designs of Bramante, and by these works he acquired so much credit in Rome that he began to be esteemed the first architect in that city, being exceedingly bold and prompt, with great and varied powers of invention. The most distinguished personages of Rome now employed him therefore in all their important undertakings, and when, in the year 1503, Julius II. was raised to the pontifical chair, Bramante was at once employed in his service.

A project had been formed in the mind of that pontiff, for covering the space which then lay between the Belvedere[14] and the Papal palace, with a building in the form of a quadrangular theatre, designing thereby to enclose a small valley which interposed between the palace and the new buildings erected for the residence of the Pontiffs, by Pope Innocent VIII. ; the intention of Julius was to construct two corridors, one on each side of the valley, by which means he could pass from the Belvedere to the palace under a loggia, and in like manner could return from the palace to the Belvedere, without exposure to the weather ; the ascent from the lowest point of the valley to the level of the Belvedere was to be effected by flights of steps.

Bramante therefore, who had great judgment and a most ingenious fancy in such matters, divided the lower part into two ranges, one over the other, the first being an extremely beautiful Loggia of the Doric order, resembling the Colosseum of the Savelli ;[15] but in place of the half-columns he substituted pilasters building the whole edifice of Travertine. Over this came a second range of the Ionic order, and the walls of that portion of the building being contin-

[14] In this villa of the Belvedere, designed by Antonio del Pollajuolo for Pope Innocent VIII., Julius II. began to form the nucleus of the museums of the Vatican by his collection of newly discovered antiquities. Professor Lanciani (in the *Bull. Arch. Com.*, 1894, pp. 147–157), in his address at the opening of the new museum in the Botanical Gardens, gives an interesting exposition of the attitude of the sixteenth century toward antiquities.

[15] Theatre of Marcellus.

uous, it was furnished with windows; the level was that of the first floor of the Papal palace, but it reached to the rooms on the ground-floor only in the Belvedere. A Loggia of more than four hundred paces long was thus obtained on the side looking towards Rome, with a second of equal extent towards the wood; between these was enclosed the before mentioned valley, to the lowest point of which all the water from the Belvedere was to be conducted, and there a magnificent fountain was to be built.[16]

Such was the plan, and after designs prepared in accordance with it, Bramante constructed the first corridor, which proceeds from the palace and joins the Belvedere on the side towards Rome,[17] the last part of the Loggia which was to ascend the acclivity and occupy the higher level excepted: of the opposite part, that towards the wood namely, he could only lay the foundations, but could not finish it, the death of Julius interrupting the work, and that of the architect himself also taking place before it had proceeded further. The invention of this fabric was considered so fine that all declared nothing better had been seen in Rome since the time of the ancients; but, as we have said, of the second corridor the foundations only were completed, nor has the whole been finished even to our own times, although Pius IV. has at length almost brought it to a conclusion.

Bramante likewise erected the cupola which covers the Hall of Antiquities, and constructed the range of niches for the statues. Of these, the Laocoon, an ancient statue of the most exquisite perfection, the Apollo, and the Venus, were placed there during his own life, the remainder of the statues were afterwards brought thither by Leo X., as for example, the Tiber and the Nile, with the Cleopatra; others were added by Clement VII.; while in the

[16] The great niche, the *Nicchione*, may still be seen, and the court called "of the Pine Cone," *della Pigna*.

[17] Palladio, on the contrary, says that this spiral staircase (still existing) was suggested by three antique stairways, which were once to be seen in the so-called Pompey's Portico of Rome. See M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 336.

time of Paul III. and that of Julius III., many important improvements were made there at very great cost.

But to return to Bramante : when not impeded by the parsimony of those with whom he had to act, he conducted his various undertakings with extraordinary promptitude, and possessed a profound and thorough knowledge of all things appertaining to the builder's art. He carried forward the buildings of the Belvedere with excessive rapidity, and such was the zeal with which he seconded the eagerness of the Pope—who would have had the edifice receive birth at a wish, rather than await the slow process of erection—that the men who were labouring at the foundations carried away at night the sand and earth which they had dug out in the presence of Bramante during the day, and he then without further precautions permitted the foundations to be laid. The result of this inadvertence on the part of the master has been that his work has cracked in various parts, and is now in danger of ruin, nay, as regards this Corridor, a portion, to the extent of eighty braccia fell to the ground during the pontificate of Clement VII., and was afterwards rebuilt by Paul III., who caused the foundations of the whole to be repaired and strengthened.

There are besides in the Belvedere many beautiful staircases and flights of steps, rich and varied in design, which unite the higher to the lower levels of the building, all from the plans of Bramante, and admirably executed in the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders respectively, arranged with the most perfect grace. He had made a model of all that was to have been done, which is said to have been of most imposing beauty, as indeed we may see that it must have been from the commencement of the work ; even left as it is in the imperfect state wherein we see it. Among other things is a winding stair constructed between columns, which is graduated in such a manner that it can be ascended on horseback : in this work the Doric order is followed by the Ionic, and the Ionic by the Corinthian, thus rising from one order into the other ; the whole is

conducted with the utmost judgment and finished with exquisite grace, insomuch that it does him equal honour with whatever other work he may have executed in the same place. The invention of this winding stair Bramante borrowed from San Niccolò of Pisa, as we have notified in the life of Giovanni and Niccolo Pisani.

This master had formed the fanciful project of making certain letters, in the manner of the ancient hieroglyphics, on a frieze of the external façade, whereby he designed to display his own ingenuity, as well as to exhibit the name of the reigning Pontiff and his own, and had commenced thus: —*Julio II. Pont. Maximo,* having caused a head in profile of Julius Cæsar to be made, by way of expressing the name of the pontiff, and constructing a bridge with two arches to intimate *Julio II. Pont.*, with an Obelisk of the Circus Maximus to signify *Max.* But the Pope laughed at this fancy and made him change his hieroglyphics for letters a braccio in height, in the antique form, such as we now see them; declaring that Bramante had borrowed that absurdity from a gate in Viterbo, over which a certain architect, called Maestro Francesco, had placed his name after his own fashion, and that he effected it in this wise: he carved a figure of San Francesco with an arch (*arco*), a roof (*tetto*), and a tower (*torre*), which he explained in a way of his own to mean, *Maestro Francesco Architettore.*

His talents in architecture and other qualities rendered Bramante highly acceptable to Pope Julius II., who was indeed so amicably disposed towards him, as to confer on our architect the office of clerk to the signet, and while holding this appointment he constructed an edifice for the furtherance of the business connected with it, and made a very beautiful press for the printing of the papal bulls. In the service of his Holiness Bramante repaired to Bologna, when the city returned to the protection of the church in the year 1504, and in all the war of Mirandola he occupied himself with various labours of great ingenuity, rendering very important assistance on that occasion.

This master prepared numerous designs for the ground-plans of buildings, as well as for entire edifices, all of which are truly admirable, as may be judged from certain examples of them which appear in our book : the proportions in every instance are very fine, and the whole design gives evidence of consummate art. Bramante imparted considerable instruction in the rules of architecture to Raphael Sanzio of Urbino, arranging for him the buildings which he afterwards painted in perspective, in that Hall of the Papal palace wherein is the Mount Parnassus, and where Raphael placed the portrait of Bramante himself,[18] whom he has represented in one of the pictures with a compass in his hand, in the act of measuring certain arches.

Pope Julius, among his other undertakings, determined on that of uniting the Law courts and all other public offices in certain buildings, situate along the Via Giulia, which Bramante had thrown open and brought into a straight line. Now if all these offices of administration could have been assembled in one place, the arrangement would have been highly conducive to the interests and convenience of the merchants and others who had long suffered many hindrances from their separation : Bramante therefore commenced the construction of the palace of San Biagio,[19] on the Tiber, and there is still a most beautiful temple in the Corinthian order, commenced there on that occasion by this master, but which has never been completed. The remainder of the fabric there in part erected is of rustic work most admirably executed, and it is much to be lamented that so honourable, useful, and magnificent an edifice, acknowledged by the masters of the profession to be the most perfect in that kind ever seen, should have failed to receive its due completion.[20]

In the first cloister of San Pietro-a-Montorio, Bramante built a round temple[21] constructed entirely of Travertine,

[18] In the school of Athens. [19] In 1509.

[20] Massive remains are still to be seen in the Via Giulia.

[21] Bramante intended this "*Tempietto*," built in 1510, to be surrounded by

than which nothing more perfectly conceived, more graceful, or more beautiful can be imagined, whether as regards arrangement, proportion, or variety, and if the erection of the entire cloister, which is not finished, had been completed after a design by our architect, which may still be seen, the effect of the whole would have been much more noble than it now is. In the Borgo this master gave the design of a palace, which Raphael of Urbino caused to be constructed of brick,[22] with stucco-work cast in moulds, the columns and bosses are in the rustic manner, the order is Doric, the work altogether being a very fine one, and the invention of those castings at that time quite new.[23] The design and arrangements for the decoration of Santa Maria at Loretto,[24] which were afterwards continued by Andrea Sansovino, were also made by this master, who prepared the models for innumerable temples and palaces which are now in Rome, and many other parts of the states of the church.

This admirable artist was of a most enterprising spirit, and among other projects had formed that of entirely restoring and even re-arranging the palace of the Pope; nay, such was his boldness, seeing as he did the resolution with which the Pope accomplished important undertakings, and

a circular colonnaded portico with four entrances, four *capellette*, and four niches in the colonnade, but the colonnade was never built.

[22] The combination of rusticated work with coupled columns shown in this palace established a precedent followed by Raphael, Giulio Romano, San Micheli, Sansovino, and Palladio. The building no longer exists; it was on the Piazza Scossacavalli, and was demolished in the seventeenth century. See M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 391.

[23] Among his Roman works the Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia belongs to Bramante's second Lombard manner; St. Peter's to his antique style; while a third, and very different manner, is characterized, by vigorous bossages, contrasting with engaged columns—see the palace built by him in the Borgo for Raphael (or for himself) and the design for the Palace of San Biagio. In 1503–4 Bramante commenced the *Loggie* of the Vatican (decorated by Raphael), in 1509 the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo, and in 1513 directed works at La Magliana.

[24] The Santa Casa of Loretto; Baron von Geymüller says in The School of Bramante, p. 112: "Among modern works of the Corinthian order this white marble shrine deserves, no doubt, the first place."

finding the desire of the latter to coincide with his own purpose and wishes, that hearing his Holiness express the intention of demolishing the church of San Pietro to construct it anew, he made numberless designs to that end, and among these there was one, which astonished all who beheld it, and was indeed of the most extraordinary magnificence and beauty. Nor would it be possible to display more consummate art, or a more perfect judgment than were evinced by Bramante, in this work: the design shows two towers, in the centre of which is the principal front of the building, as we see it on the medals[25] afterwards struck for Julius II. and Leo X., by Caradosso, a most excellent goldsmith of that time, who had no equal in the execution of dies: the same thing may be seen in the medals of Bramante himself, which are also extremely beautiful. The Pope, being thus determined to undertake the commencement of that stupendous building, the church of St. Peter; caused one half of the older fabric to be demolished, and set hand to the reconstruction, with the firm resolve that in art, invention, arrangement, and beauty, as well as in extent, magnificence, and splendour of decoration, that edifice should surpass all the buildings ever erected in that city by the whole power of the republic,[26] aided as this was by the genius of the many able masters whose works had illustrated the states of the church. With his accustomed promptitude the architect laid the foundations of his work, and before the death of the Pope, continuing his labours to the close of his own life, which followed soon after that of the pontiff; he raised the building to the height of the cornice, which is over the arches of the four piers, and of this part he also completed the vaulting, effecting the whole with ex-

[25] The medals show the church, which has the form of a Greek cross; over the grave of St. Peter, which occupies the centre, is a large cupola, there are two clock-towers, while before the church is a vestibule borne upon six columns. Bramante's use of the clock-towers as integral parts of the church was a comparative novelty in Italian architecture.

[26] The first stone was laid April 18, 1506, directly under that pier of the cupola which bears the statue of St. Veronica.

traordinary rapidity, as well as consummate art. He likewise conducted the vaulting of the principal chapel, that wherein is the great tribune namely, causing the chapel, called that of the king of France, to be also put in progress at the same time.[27]

For this work Bramante invented the method of constructing the vaulted ceilings by means of a framework of strong beams, in which the friezes and decorations of foliage were carved, and afterward covered with castings in stucco. In the arches of the edifice he also showed the manner in which they may be turned with movable scaffolds, a method afterwards pursued by Antonio da San Gallo. In that portion of the work which was completed by Bramante, the cornice which surrounds the interior is seen to have been conducted with so much ability, that nothing more elegant or more graceful than is the design of this cornice, in its every part, could have been produced by any hand whatever. In the capitals of this edifice also, which in the interior are formed of olive leaves, as indeed in all the external work, which is of the Doric order, and of inexpressible beauty; in all these things, I say, we perceive the extraordinary boldness of Bramante's genius; nay, we have many clear proofs that, if he had possessed means of action equivalent to his powers of conception, he would have performed works never before heard of or even imagined.[28]

But the work we are here alluding to was conducted after a much altered fashion on his death and by succeeding architects; nay, to so great an extent was this the case, that

[27] That is to say, besides completing the four enormous piers of the cupola he began the tribunes of the central nave and of the south transept (Milanesi, IV., p. 161, note 3).

[28] The treatment of staircases, porticoes, subsidiary cupolas and balconies, received great development at the hands of Bramante; he made a picturesque use of open galleries, and in his plan of St. Peter's the clock-towers were no long detached *campanili*, but became integral portions of the body of the building. His biographers are of the opinion that had Bramante lived to achieve what he planned, Rome would have had a scenic magnificence which would have rivalled the splendor of Babylon or Nineveh.

with the exception of the four piers by which the cupola is supported, we may safely affirm that nothing of what was originally intended by Bramante now remains. For in the first place, Raffaelo da Urbino and Giuliano da San Gallo, who were appointed after the death of Julius II., to continue the work, with the assistance of Fra Giocondo of Verona, began at once to make alterations in the plans; and on the death of these masters, Baldassare Peruzzi also effected changes, when he constructed the chapel of the King of France, in the transept which is on the side towards the Campo Santo. Under Paul III. the whole work was altered once more by Antonio da San Gallo, and after him Michael Angelo, setting aside all these varying opinions, and reducing the superfluous expense, has given to the building a degree of beauty and perfection, of which no previous successor to Bramante had ever formed the idea; the whole has indeed been conducted according to his plans, and under the guidance of his judgment, although he has many times remarked to me that he was but executing the design and arrangements of Bramante, seeing that the master who first founded a great edifice is he who ought to be regarded as its author. The plan of Bramante in this building, does indeed appear to have been of almost inconceivable vastness, and the commencement which he gave to his work was of commensurate extent and grandeur; but if he had begun this stupendous and magnificent edifice on a smaller scale, it is certain that neither San Gallo nor the other masters, not even Michael Angelo himself, would have been found equal to the task of rendering it more imposing, although they proved themselves to be abundantly capable of diminishing the work: for the original plan of Bramante indeed had a view to even much greater things.[29]

[29] Baron von Geymüller, who is the protagonist in the question as to Bramante's greatness, says that had he completed St. Peter's it would have been the marvel of all time; M. Müntz adds, the most beautiful of all temples, whether Gothic, Romanesque, or Renaissance, and says also that the work sketched by Bramante was "as living and as full of interest in spite of its colossal dimensions as the actual St. Peter's is cold and empty." In the his-

We find it asserted that the earnest desire of Bramante to make a rapid progress, and to see the building arising, induced him to permit the destruction of many admirable works which had previously adorned the church of St. Peter's; sepulchral monuments of Popes namely, with paintings and mosaics: a circumstance which has caused the loss of numerous portraits in different styles of many great personages, which were scattered about in all parts of the older church, being, as it was, considered the principal church of all Christendom. The altar of St. Peter and the ancient choir or tribune was all that Bramante retained,[30] and this he enclosed within a rich balustrade most beautifully executed, with columns or balusters of the Doric order, and all in Peperino marble. This enclosure is of such extent, that when the Pope goes to St. Peter's to perform high mass, he can find space within it for all his court, as well as for the ambassadors of all Christian princes; the work was not entirely finished at the death of Bramante, and received its ultimate completion from the Sienese Baldassare.

Bramante was a person of most cheerful and amiable

tory of this building, which at once crowned and dethroned the papacy (since the sale of indulgences applied to the raising of funds brought on the Reformation), famous architects pass before us in long procession, with even Raphael in their midst, but against them all two figures stand out gigantic, those of Bramante and Michelangelo—Bramante, whose vision has passed away; Michelangelo, whose dream, materialized, rises against the Roman sky, yet who, rival and adversary as he was, said, "it cannot be denied that Bramante had in architecture as great talent as any man since the ancients. He made the first plan of St. Peter's, . . . and any one who like San Gallo has deviated from it has departed from the true method." Baron von Geymüller in his great work on St. Peter's gives Bramante's unexecuted designs.

[30] The Renaissance architects, with all their love of antiquity, were apt to destroy rather recklessly, after learning what they could from the particular building in hand; and we may see from Vasari's own expression of opinion in other lives that it was natural for them to disdain what had been done in the "old manner," *i.e.*, Gothic, Lombard, Tuscan, etc. Still Bramante seems to have been called an iconoclast even by these rather careless and perhaps jealous fellow-architects. As for the mosaics and sculptures, a great part of them were saved.

disposition, delighting to do everything whereby he could bring benefit to his neighbour. He was the assured friend of all men distinguished by their talents, and favoured them to the utmost of his power, as was manifest in his conduct[31] towards the graceful* Raffaello da Urbino, a most celebrated painter who was induced to settle in Rome by his means.

This master always lived in the most splendid and honourable manner, and in the station to which he had attained, all that he possessed was as nothing to what he might and would have expended. He delighted greatly in poetry and took much pleasure in music; hearing as well as practising improvisations on the lyre with infinite enjoyment: he would also occasionally compose a sonnet,[32] if

* *Grazioso* here means gracious, not graceful.

[31] He designated Raphael as his successor as architect-in-chief of St. Peter's. Bramante has been reproached with trying to force upon Michelangelo an uncongenial task, the painting of the Sistine Chapel, in the hopes that he would fail in it; and furthermore, with having again attempted, after Michelangelo had succeeded, to check this success and steal a portion of the work for Raphael. Neither common-sense nor documentary evidence support the first charge. As to the second, the attempt to secure for Raphael the permission to paint a portion of the frescoes of the Sistine was justifiable and natural. It is most gratifying that Bramante did not obtain this permission, since thus Michelangelo was able to evolve his tremendous scheme in its entirety, but Bramante asked nothing unreasonable. The most famous artists of an epoch which was only then passing away had been invited to co-operate in the painting of the walls. Perugino, Botticelli, Rosselli, Ghirlandajo, and, lastly, Signorelli, had worked there. Michelangelo was asked to cover the vaulting, and executed a portion of what we now see there. Some of the walls still remained uncovered; what was more natural than that Raphael should hope to also have a hand in this work which so many of his contemporaries had shared, this painting of the central papal chapel of Christendom? Michelangelo enlarged his scheme until his work covered all the walls down to the series of fifteenth-century frescoes. This was our everlasting gain, for Raphael has had his field in the *Stanze* of the Vatican. A sharp rivalry, enmity perhaps, existed between these two great painters, but we may no more blame Raphael for coveting, or Bramante for asking, a part of the Sistine upper walls than we may blame the former for having in later years designed the tapestries which were to be hung upon the lower portions of the chapel.

[32] In a collection of essays upon architecture and perspective, written by Bramante and published in Milan in 1756, are also thirty sonnets. Thirteen

not in so polished a manner as we are now wont to expect, yet always giving evidence of an earnest purpose and entirely free from errors of style. Bramante was highly esteemed by the prelates, and received various proofs of respect and admiration from different nobles, who were acquainted with his excellencies. He enjoyed very great renown during his life, and this was still further increased and extended after his death, seeing that this event caused the erection of St. Peter's to be suspended during several years. Bramante lived to the age of seventy, and when he died, was borne to his grave with the most honourable solemnities, and attended by the papal court as well as by all the sculptors, architects, and painters at that time in Rome.[33] He was entombed in San Pietro, in the year 1514.

To Architecture the death of Bramante was an irreparable loss, and the rather, as his continual investigations frequently resulted in the discovery of some useful invention, whereby the art was largely enriched. Among other instances of this was the method of vaulting with gypsum [34] and that of preparing stucco, both known to the ancients, but the secret of which had been lost in their ruin, and had remained concealed even to the time of this master. Wherefore, those who devote themselves to the examination and admeasurement of architectural antiquities, find no less science and excellence of design in the works of Bramante

more sonnets are in Volume III., pp. 84–86, of *Poesie Italiane inedite, di dugento autori*, collected by Francesca Trucchi (Prato, 1847); Falda and Ferrario have engraved many of Bramante's architectonic works in *Nuovi Disegni dell' Architettura, e piante e palazzi di Roma.* See Milanesi, IV., p. 164, note 2. Baron von Geymüller (School of Bramante, p. 137) considers that he recognized in some sheets of paper among the MS. of Vitruvius, which formerly belonged to Raphael, a fragment of a treatise by Bramante. The same critic also recognized a series of sketches in the Soane Museum, London, which may be considered as a kind of treatise.

[33] Bramante died on March 11, 1514, and was buried in the Grotte Vaticane.

[34] Vasari elsewhere attributes this invention to Giuliano da San Gallo, but Cesariano Cesariani, Bramante's pupil, declares his master to be the inventor. See E. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 323.

than in those of the ancients themselves, and among artists well acquainted with the profession which he exercised, this master must ever be accounted one of the most exalted minds by whom our age has been illustrated.[35] He left be-

[35] "Renaissance architecture is so cold, Renaissance churches do not seem like churches at all." Who has not heard this remark made again and again in Italy by travellers from the north? These travellers have grown up in France, England, and Germany, under the shadow of Gothic minsters, or they are Americans who have visited northern countries on their way to Italy, and to them a church means always the "long-drawn aisle and fretted vault" of Westminster or Amiens or Cologne. But the same reason which makes a Gothic church appeal to an Englishman or a German, namely, that it is indigenous, makes a Renaissance temple impressive to an Italian. The Gothic is a true style, that of the Renaissance is not; but the Gothic is no native of Italy, and there is no reason why the Italian should inherit its spirit. We may mourn that the development of the French sculpture of Rheims and Bourges and Amiens, and the reliefs of Orvieto should have been checked, that the Gothic architecture of the north should have been arrested by a change of style, but we may just as legitimately regret with Viollet Le Duc that Roman architecture, the architecture of the Basilica of Constantine, should have been destroyed by the barbarian invasions. The Italian inheritance was from the Greeks through the Cæsars, Roman and Byzantine, and through the early Christians; the churches of Siena, Orvieto, Milan, were exotic, and when Brunelleschi and Donatello dug and measured in the Campagna they found that austere Roman architecture which was their rightful heritage, and which Bramante in turn enriched with the souvenirs of Christian basilicas of the north. When the Italian of the best period of Pre-renaissance architecture wanted a church he turned not to the antique Roman work, which he had not yet learned to study, nor to the Gothic, but to the Romanesque church, or, better still, to the Christianized Roman basilica, and the result was the Duomo of Pisa.

The churches of the Renaissance have inherited from San Paolo *fuori le mura*, as well as from the Roman forum, and to all these heterogeneous materials the Italian is entitled by birthright; but the Gothic builders were of a different blood from him, for in the invasions of Italy the northern barons became only the lords of the open country; within the town walls was the old Italic stock, and of this stock came the Brunelleschis and Bramantes. Gothic architecture is more spontaneous than that of the *cinquecento;* it is a growth; any one can feel its power and can feel it at once without study. The churches of the Renaissance are individual performances, and even when they are masterpieces some comprehension of the culture upon which they are based is necessary to an appreciation of them; but the more they are studied the more the visitor will appreciate the fact that they are not cold copies of a by-gone style, but that they are thoughtfully planned and skilfully constructed to fit a modern need, fertile in examples of triumphant adaptation, instinct with personality, rich with the resources of the sister

hind him his intimate friend and associate Giuliano Leno, who was much employed in the buildings erected at that period,[36] but more to provide for and superintend the ex-

arts of sculpture and painting. Such are the best palaces and churches of the "Golden Age;" later a slavish imitation of antiquity produced buildings which, compared with those of an earlier time, are as a lifeless body by the side of a living one, but from Brunelleschi to Bramante, from Michelozzo to the San Galli, no matter what the superficial observer may think, Renaissance architecture was no cold abstraction, no galvanism of a dead and gone style, but was to princes, people, and architects alike, an absorbing passion.

[36] Bramante's is the great name of the second period of the Renaissance, as Brunelleschi's was of the first. For a time the sceptre of Italian art passed from Tuscany to the tiny duchy of Urbino, from the hands of San Gallo and Michelangelo to those of Bramante and Raphael, but to return again to the Florentines, after the short and splendid Urbinate rule. It was not relationship alone (if such existed) between Raphael and Bramante that caused the architect to will to the painter the continuation of the works upon St. Peter's. This succession was rather an heirloom of natural selection. Bramante, like Raphael, was an assimilator. His was no contemning of the "old manner," no rigid adherence to Vitruvius; like Raphael he took whatever he saw, the clustered piers of the north, the great rounded apses of Christian basilicas, the external galleries to cupolas, the *narthex* of early church and the Romanesque clock-tower, and, like Raphael, he so changed this material that he made it all his own. M. Müntz has emphasized the singular fortune of this great architect that he was in and of two successive and differing epochs of the Renaissance, and that he represented both. As a youth he saw the dignified and refined work of Luciano da Laurana in Urbino, as a man he lived close to the rugged beauty of Sant' Ambrogio of Milan, the picturesqueness of Chiaravalle, the rich and solemn splendor of the Duomo. Penetrated by the spirit of the Renaissance he yet did not reject the good that had gone before, and he re-echoed it in the freshness and richness of his Lombard monuments. He took as unhesitatingly from Alberti (in his *façade* of Abbiate Grasso) as did Raphael from Masaccio (in his St. Paul), as readily from the basilicas of early Christian builders as did the painter from the "*grotteschi*" of the Cæsars, and in the general eschewal of "the old methods" he was so tolerant that the pointed Gothic arches stood in long rows in his *façade* of the Hospital of Milan. In Lombardy he was a Lombard, in Rome he became a Roman until even Michelangelo praised him. He subordinated "beauty in details to the grandeur of simplicity and unity of effect," and if we feel natural regret at the loss of a whole series of charming and individual motives in decoration, we must not forget that grandeur was the dominant trait of antique Rome, that the coarse splendor of the empire was only an overlay to the racial love of mass, the sense of austerity in construction which Bramante helped to revive "in an age which required above all things to be preserved from its own luxuriant waywardness of fancy." "The principles" (says M.

ecution of what others had planned and designed, than to erect buildings of his own, although he possessed considerable judgment and very great experience.

Müntz) "of Bramante the *quattrocentist* were honored in Upper Italy till the middle of the sixteenth century; those of the *cinquecentist* Bramante have never ceased to inspire the masters of the building art."

FRA BARTOLOMMEO OF SAN MARCO, FLORENTINE PAINTER [1]

[Born 1475; died 1517.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Neu-Mayr, *Descrizione di due dipinti, uno di Fra Bartolommeo Baccio della Porta l'altro di Guido Reni*, Venice, 1833. Leonardo Ciardetti, *Di un quadro rappresentante la Madre di Misericordia di Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco e dell' incisione eseguita da Gius. Sanders*, Florence, 1835. E. Rubieri, *Il Ritratto di Fra Girolamo*, Florence, 1855. Otto Mündler, article in the *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über bildende Kunst*, 1865, No. 15, and in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1867, p. 303. Albert von Zahn, *Die handzeichnungen des Fra Bartolommeo im besitz der Frau Grossherzogin Sophie von Sachsen-Weimar*, *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1870, III., 174–206. L'Abbé de Beauséjour and le Père Ceslas Bayonne, articles in *l'Année dominicaine*, February and March, 1872, December, 1875, January, August, and September, 1876. E. Ridolfi, *Notizie sopra varie opere di Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco*, in the *Giornale Ligustico di archeologia storia e belle arti*, March, 1878. E. Frantz, *Fra Bartolommeo della Porta*, Ratisbon, 1879. H. Lücke, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Leipsic, 1879, and in Meyer's *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, 1880. Leader Scott, *Fra Bartolommeo*, London, 1881. Padre Vincenzo Marchese, *Memorie dei più insigni pittori, scultori, e architetti domenicani*, Bologna, 1878–79. An English edition was published in Dublin, 1852. Gustave Gruyer, *Fra Bartolommeo della Porta et Mariotto Albertinelli*, Paris, 1886. (This important book contains a great number of reproductions, a comprehensive study of the artists named, and a list of their principal works.) Auguste Castan, *La Physionomie primitive du Rétable de Fra Bartolommeo à la Cathedrale de Besançon retrouvée par Auguste Castan*, Besançon, 1889. Wilhelm Lübke, *Fra Bartolommeo's Madonna Carondelet*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, March, 1891.

IN the vicinity of Prato, which is at the distance of some ten miles from the city of Florence, and at a village called Savignano, was born Bartolommeo, according to the Tuscan practice called Baccio. From his childhood,

[1] Bartolommeo di Paolo di Jacopo del Fattorino was born in 1475. For his various manners of signing his pictures, see G. Gruyer's *Fra Bartolommeo*, p. 96.

Bartolommeo evinced not only a great inclination but an extraordinary aptitude [2] for the study of design, and by the intervention of Benedetto da Maiano, he was placed under the discipline of Cosimo Roselli,[3] being taken into the house of certain of his kinsfolk who dwelt near the gate of San Piero Gattolini, where Bartolommeo also dwelt many years, for which reason he was always called Baccio della Porta,[4] nor was he known by any other name.

After Baccio had left Cosimo Roselli,[5] he began to study the works of Leonardo da Vinci with the most devoted zeal, and in a short time had made so great a progress that he was early considered one of the most distinguished of the younger painters, whether as regarded design or colouring. In the company of Baccio lived Mariotto Albertinelli,[6] who in a short time acquired his manner to a very satisfactory degree, when they executed together numerous

[2] Vasari was mistaken in regard to Fra Bartolommeo's birthplace; he was born, not at Savignano, but near the gate of San Piero Gattolini, just outside the walls of Florence. His mother was the daughter of an employee of the hospital of San Giuliano, which was also situated near the gate.

[3] In the year 1508, in which Raphael went to Rome, Fra Bartolommeo visited Venice, where he must, says M. Gruyer, have seen the works of Giorgione and of Sebastian del Piombo, and certainly saw also in their first freshness the two great *façades* of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, painted by Giorgione and Titian. The Dominicans of the Convent of St. Peter Martyr at Murano ordered a picture of Bartolommeo, and an interesting fact is that part of the money for the payment was to be raised by the sale of some letters of St. Catherine of Siena, belonging to the vicar of the convent, Bartolommeo Dalzano. Baccio painted for them, 1508–1509, what is perhaps his finest picture, Saints Mary Magdalen and Catherine of Siena kneeling in ecstasy and blessed by God the Father. When the work was finished, the convent, made needy by the troubles which followed the League of Cambrai, could not pay for it. The brothers of San Marco waited three years, then ordered the Venetians to pay in ten days, in default of which they, the Florentines, should keep the moneys already advanced and the picture into the bargain. Receiving no reply, Fra Bartolommeo gave the picture to the Prior Pagnini, who sent it to the Church of San Romano in Lucca. It is now in the Museum of that city.

[4] Literally "Bat of the Gate."

[5] Baccio was in his seventeenth year when he left Rosselli. He formed his first regular association with Albertinelli in 1490 or 1492. See G. Gruyer's work, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[6] Whose life follows.

pictures of the Madonna, which are dispersed throughout Florence. To enumerate all these works would take me too far, but there are some so admirably executed by Baccio that they must not pass without notice. One of these paintings, a figure of the Virgin namely, is in the house of Filippo, son of Averardo Salviati, it is a singularly beautiful picture, and is highly valued by its possessor : another of them was purchased, no long time since, by Pier Maria of the Wells,* a lover of paintings, who found it in a sale of old furniture, but being capable of appreciating its beauty, he would not afterwards part with it, for all the money that could be offered to him. This also is a Madonna, and is executed with extraordinary care.[7] Piero del Pugliese had a small Virgin in marble, sculptured by the hand of Donatello in very low relief, a work of exquisite beauty, for which Piero, desiring to do it the utmost honour, had caused a tabernacle in wood to be made, wherein it was enclosed by means of two small doors. This tabernacle he subsequently gave for its ultimate decoration to Baccio della Porta, who painted on the inner side of the door, two historical events from the life of Christ, one of which represents the Nativity, the other the Circumcision of the Saviour. The little figures of these scenes were executed by Baccio after the manner of miniatures, so delicately finished that it would not be possible for anything in oil-painting to exceed them. When the doors are shut, a painting in chiaro-scuro is perceived to decorate the outer side of them ; this also represents Our Lady, receiving the Annunciation from the Angel, and is likewise painted in oil.[8] The tabernacle is now in the study or writing-cham-

* Pier Maria delle Pozze.

[7] Vasari's description is not definite enough to enable us to locate these pictures. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle place this Madonna in their list of works that are missing.

[8] These pictures are in the Uffizi. The *bas-relief* is lost. M. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 11, says these little panels are not unworthy to frame the work of Donatello. At about the period of these pictures Baccio and Mariotto ceased to work together, on account, says M. Gruyer, of the latter's violent oppo-

ber of the Duke Cosimo, a place wherein are kept all the small bronze figures from the antique, with the medals and other rare pictures in miniature, possessed by his most illustrious Excellency; who treasures it as an extraordinary work of art, which in fact it is.

Baccio della Porta was much beloved in Florence, not only for his talents but for his many excellent qualities: devoted to labour, of a quiet mind, upright by nature, and duly impressed with the fear of God; a retired life was that of his choice, he shunned all vicious practices, delighted greatly in the preaching of pious men, and always sought the society of the learned and sober. And of a truth, it is seldom that Nature gives birth to a man of genius, who is at the same time an artist of retired habits, without also providing him, after a certain period, with the means of repose and a quiet life, as she did for Baccio, who ultimately obtained all that was demanded by his moderate desires, as will be related in its due place. The report that this master was no less excellent in character than able as an artist, being disseminated abroad, he soon became highly celebrated, and Gerozzo di Monna Venna Dini confided to him the commission to paint the chapel, wherein the remains of the dead are deposited, in the cemetery of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. Here Baccio commenced a painting in fresco, of the Last Judgment, which he executed with so much care and in so admirable a manner, in the portion which he finished, that he acquired a still further increase of reputation. He was extolled above all for the remarkable ability wherewith he has depicted the glories of the blessed in Paradise, where Christ with the twelve apostles is seated in judgment on the twelve tribes, the

sition to Savonarola, of whom Baccio was an ardent follower. When, after the period of renunciation of art which followed Savonarola's death, Baccio began to paint again, the friends came together, and Albertinelli, though a layman, was officially recognized as Baccio's partner. (It will be remembered that Benozzo Gozzoli served Fra Angelico as assistant.) This partnership ceased January 5, 1512. Mariotto is said to have become for a time a tavern-keeper, but he eventually left his tankards for his brushes.

figures being most beautifully draped and the colouring exquisitely soft.[9] One part of this work remained unfinished, the condemned dragged away to hell namely; of these forms we have the outline only. The design of the master has, nevertheless, made the shame, despair, and dread of eternal death, as clearly manifest in the expression of their faces, as are content and joy in the countenances of those who are saved, although the picture, as we have said, was left unfinished, our artist having a greater inclination for the practices of religious worship than for painting.

Now it happened at the time of which we now speak that Fra Girolamo Savonarola, of Ferrara, a renowned theologian of the order of Preachers, was in the convent of San Marco, where Baccio attended his preaching with infinite devotion and with all the respect which he felt for the person of the preacher: he thus became closely intimate with Fra Girolamo, and spent almost all his time in the convent, having contracted a friendship with the other monks also. Girolamo meanwhile continued to preach daily; and his

[9] This fresco, painted 1499–1500, designed and commenced by Fra Bartolommeo, finished by Albertinelli, is in its scheme of composition the most important link between the monumentally ordered decorations of Giotto (Arena Chapel, Assisi), Masaccio (Brancacci Chapel), Filippo Lippi (Prato), Ghirlandajo (S. M. Novella), and the decorations of Raphael in the Vatican. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle declare that it is the solitary link, and that were it missing "we should say that Sanzio and not della Porta continued the great art of Giotto and Ghirlandajo." This is not quite fair to Baccio della Porta, who did not show his sense of monumental composition in this one fresco only. Had it never been executed, some of his Virgins in Glory, and notably his drawing and *ébauche* for the patron Saints of Florence (Uffizi), would have proved him the direct precursor of Raphael. It would seem more correct to say that the Last Judgment is the most emphatic example of Baccio's intense sense of composition by masses of figures. It is, indeed, as M. Müntz has remarked, in all respects a worthy prelude to the *Disputà* of Raphael. In following the evolution of monumental composition, Filippino Lippi must also be remembered, not only in his Carmine frescoes, which were directly inspired by Masaccio, but in his Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas, where the artist thinks wholly for himself and takes his place among the pioneers of compositional evolution. Marchese (English edition, II., p. 21) remarks that in regard to this picture of the Judgment Vasari's memory failed, and that one would vainly seek for the twelve tribes.

zeal increasing, he daily declaimed from the pulpit against licentious pictures, among other things ; showing how these, with music and books of similar character, were calculated to lead the mind to evil ; he also asserted his conviction, that in houses where young maidens dwelt, it was dangerous and improper to retain pictures wherein there were undraped figures. Now it was the custom in that city to erect cabins of firewood and other combustibles on the public piazza during the time of Carnival, and on the night of Shrove Tuesday, these huts being set a-blaze, the people were wont to dance around them while thus burning, men and women that is to say, joining hands, according to ancient custom, encircled these fires, with songs and dances. On the return of the Carnival following the period of which we now speak, however, Fra Girolamo's exhortations had so powerfully affected the people,[10] that instead of these accustomed dances, they brought pictures and works in sculpture, many by the most excellent masters—all which they cast into the fire, with books and musical instruments, which were burnt in like manner—a most lamentable destruction ; and more particularly as to the paintings. To this pile brought Baccio della Porta all his studies and drawings which he had made from the nude figure, when they were consumed in the flames. His example was followed by Lorenzo di Credi, and by many others, who received the appellation of the *Piagnoni*.[11]

No long time after this, Baccio della Porta, moved by

[10] Savonarola's adherents included many artists of note, such as Lorenzo di Credi, Sandro Botticelli, Cronaca, some of the Robbias, and of course Fra Bartolommeo. Michelangelo is also believed to have had leanings toward the teachings of the Frate. A special work has been written on the influence of Savonarola by G. Gruyer, *Illustrations des Écrits de Jerôme Savonarole et des Paroles de Savonarole sur l'Art*, Paris, 1879. The great Friar has been unfairly accused of hostility to art, for in reality he advised such brothers as felt no special vocation for preaching or for speculative study to devote themselves to miniature painting, carving, illumination, calligraphy, sculpture, and architecture for the greater glory and benefit of the community.

[11] "Mourners," or more literally "weepers," from *piangere* to weep, to lament.

the love which he bore to Fra Girolamo, painted a picture wherein was his portrait, which is indeed most beautiful. This work was at the time transported to Ferrara, but was brought back to Florence not a great while since, and is now in the house of Filippo, the son of Alamanni Salviati, by whom, as being a work of Baccio's, it is held in the highest estimation.[12]

It happened afterwards that the party opposed to Fra Girolamo rose against him, determining to deliver him into the hands of justice, and to make him answerable for the insurrections which he had excited in the city; but the friends of the monk, perceiving their intention, assembled also, to the number of five hundred, and shut themselves up in San Marco; Baccio della Porta joining himself to them, for the very great affection which he bore to Fra Girolamo. It is true that having but very little courage, being indeed of a timid and even cowardly disposition, he lost heart, on hearing the clamours of an attack, which was made upon the convent shortly after, and seeing some wounded and others killed, he began to have grievous doubts respecting his position. Thereupon he made a vow, that if he might be permitted to escape from the rage of that strife, he would instantly assume the religious habit of the Dominicans. The vow thus taken he afterwards fulfilled to the letter; for when the struggle was over, and when the monk, having been taken prisoner, had been condemned to death,[13] as will be found circumstantially related by the historians of the period, Baccio della Porta departed to Prato, where he assumed the habit of San Domenico on

[12] This work was for many years in the possession of Ermolao Rubieri. See his essay *Il Ritratto di Fra Girolamo*, Florence, 1855. According to M. Gruyer the portrait now belongs to Dr. Raphael Lanetti, one of the heirs of Signor Rubieri, and is at Prato. The inscription reads HIERONYMI FERRARIENSIS A DEO MISSI PROPHETAE EFFIGIES. There is a portrait of Savonarola as St. Peter Martyr in the Academy of Florence; it was painted by Fra Bartolommeo when in retirement at Pian di Mugnone. There is another head of Savonarola in the Museum of San Marco which is occasionally attributed to Fra Bartolommeo.

[13] Savonarola was put to death in May, 1498.

the 26th of July, in the year 1500, as we find recorded in the chronicles of that convent. This determination caused much regret to all his friends, who grieved exceedingly at having lost him, and all the more as he had resolved to abandon the study of painting.

At the entreaty of Gerozzo Dini, the friend and companion of Fra Bartolommeo—so did the prior call Baccio della Porta, on investing him with the habit—Mariotto Albertinelli undertook the work abandoned by Baccio, and continued the paintings of the chapel in the cemetery, to their completion.[14] In this work he placed the portrait of the then Director, with those of certain Monks, who were eminent for their knowledge of surgery. He added the likeness of Gerozzo himself, who had caused the painting to be executed, with that of his wife, whole-length figures; the former kneeling on one side, the latter on the other. In one of the nude and seated figures of this picture, Mariotto Albertinelli painted the portrait of his pupil Giuliano Bugiardini, a youth with long hair, as it was then the custom to wear it, and so carefully has the work been executed, that each separate hair might almost be counted. The portrait of Mariotto himself is also in this painting—in the head, with long hair, of a figure emerging from one of the tombs there, as is also that of the painter Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, whose life we have written. This last is in that portion of the picture which represents the blessedness of the just.[15] The work was all executed in fresco, both by Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto; it has maintained and continues to maintain its freshness admirably, and is held in great estimation by artists, seeing that, in this manner,

[14] It was during the progress of the work upon this fresco that the shock to Fra Bartolommeo occasioned by the sacking of the Convent of San Marco, and the death of Savonarola, caused him to renounce art and withdraw into a cloister, where he took the habit of a novice on July 26, 1500. He left the work to be completed by Albertinelli.

[15] The bald old man at the right of the Saviour has been called the portrait of Fra Angelico. Vasari engraved this portrait for his book of Lives.

there scarcely could be anything better effected by the art of the painter.

When Fra Bartolommeo had been several months in the convent of San Marco,[16] he was sent by his superiors to Florence, they having appointed him to take up his abode as a Monk, in the convent of San Marco in that city, where his talents and good qualities caused him to receive numberless marks of kindness from the Monks with whom he dwelt.[17] At that time Bernardo del Bianco had caused to be constructed in the abbey of Florence a chapel, richly and beautifully erected, of cut stone, after the designs of Bernardino da Rovezzano; a work, which was then and is now much admired for its varied beauty. And to complete the decorations, Benedetto Buglioni had prepared angels and other figures of vitrified terra-cotta in full relief, placed within niches, with friezes consisting of the arms and devices of Bianco, mingled with heads of cherubims. For this chapel, Bernardo desired to obtain an altar-piece, which should be worthy of its beauty; and feeling convinced that Fra Bartolommeo would be exactly the person to execute what he wished, he used every possible means, by the intervention of friends, and by all other methods, to dispose the Monk to that undertaking. Fra Bartolommeo was then in his convent, exclusively occupied with his attention to the religious services, and to the duties imposed by the rule of

[16] Shortly after entering S. Marco, Baccio ceded (September 11, 1501) all his rights of property to his brother, who was under tutelage. Sante Pagnini, Prior of S. Marco from 1504 to 1506, and 1511 to 1513, became to Baccio what Antonino had been to Fra Angelico. This prior was an Orientalist, a translator of the Bible, and also an art *connoisseur*; he held the chair of Eastern Languages, founded by Leo X., and eventually died in Lyons, where he had obtained the right of citizenship. It was he who urged Baccio to take up his brushes again and paint the Vision of St. Bernard (his first work after he had become a monk). Baccio had a long dispute over the price of this picture, a disinterested dispute, since the money went to the convent.

[17] M. Gruyer believes that at the time Leonardo da Vinci was painting his Battle of Anghiari, Fra Bartolommeo must surely have known him and studied his manner of working, for he was especially influenced by Leonardo's comprehension of chiaroscuro.

his Order, although frequently entreated by the Prior, as well as by his own dearest friends, to commence some work in painting. Four years[18] had now passed since he had refused to execute any labours of that kind, but on the occasion we are now describing, being pressed by the importunities of Bernardo del Bianco, he was at length prevailed on to begin the picture of St. Bernard. The Saint is represented as writing, when the Virgin appears to him, holding the Divine Child in her arms, and borne by numerous figures of children and angels, all painted by the master with exceeding delicacy.[19] Beholding this appearance, St. Bernard is lost in adoring contemplation, and there is a certain inexpressible radiance of look, which is so to speak, celestial, in his countenance, and which seems, to him who considers the picture attentively, to become diffused over the whole work. There is, besides, an arch above this painting which is executed in fresco, and is also finished with extraordinary zeal and care.[20]

Fra Bartolommeo painted certain other pictures soon after that here described, for the cardinal Giovanni de' Medici,[21] with a figure of the Virgin, of exquisite beauty, for Agnolo Doni, which last is still on the altar of a chapel in his house.[22]

About this time the painter, Raffaello da Urbino, came to learn his art in Florence, when he taught Fra Bartolommeo the first rules of perspective,[23] and was constantly

[18] More probably six years, as the commission for the St. Bernard was given November 18, 1504. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 201, notes 1–5, p. 202, notes 1–4, gives an interesting list of the principal architects, sculptors, painters, miniaturists, mosaic workers, and glass painters who were members of the regular or secular clergy. In this age, as in others, the Order of St. Dominick far excelled the others as to the number of its artists.

[19] The picture, painted in 1507, is in the Academy of Florence. It is admirable in distribution, but the types are disagreeable, the faces so extraordinarily ugly, mean, and pinched that it is difficult to recall a work of the Renaissance in which indifference to facial beauty has been pushed so far.

[20] The arch was destroyed when the church was modernized.

[21] A Nativity painted for Cardinal de' Medici has been lost.

[22] This work, executed in 1516, is in the Corsini Gallery, Rome.

[23] Raphael came to Florence in the year in which Baccio began again to

in his company, being desirous of acquiring the monk's manner of colouring ; the harmony perceptible in his works, and his mode of treating them having pleased Raffaello very greatly. Fra Bartolommeo was then painting at San Marco, in Florence, a picture with innumerable figures, which is now in the possession of the King of France ;[24] it was presented to that monarch after having been kept to be shown in San Marco for several months. He afterwards painted another in the same convent, to replace that which was sent into France ;[25] this last also has an infinite variety

paint, and the two artists influenced each other deeply. Raphael's fresco of San Severo in Perugia proceeds directly from Baccio's Last Judgment as well as from Ghirlandajo's Coronation in S. M. Novella. M. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 22, traces the influence of Baccio upon Raphael in the Virgin in Glory, painted for Perugia (convent of St. Anthony) in the Canigiani Holy Family, and above all in the Madonna del Baldacchino. On the other hand he finds that the influence was strongly reciprocal, and cites the Tempi Madonna as one of the pictures which inspired Baccio.

[24] This picture, the Espousal of St. Catherine, executed in 1511, was purchased in 1512 by the Florentine Republic, and presented to Jacques Hurault, Bishop of Autun and Ambassador of Louis XII., to the Florentines. It is now in the Louvre. Besides the Virgin and Child and the St. Catherine, the picture contains Saints Vincent, Stephen, Bartholomew, and two other youthful saints, while Dominick and Francis are seen embracing each other, and little angels hold up the curtains of the *Baldacchino*. The picture is wholly by Baccio, although painted during his period of collaboration with Mariotto. See M. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 40. A very important picture by Baccio is in the chapel of St. Ferjeux of the Cathedral of Besançon ; it was painted in 1511–12 for Ferry Carondelet, archdeacon of the chapter of Besançon in Franche Comté, and envoy of the Emperor Maximilian to the papal court. It represents the Virgin and Child with angels, below are Saints John the Baptist, Sebastian, Bernard, and Anthony, while the donor kneels in the foreground. See Gustave Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 43. M. Castan supposes that this picture was begun after 1516, and finished by Fra Paolino ; but M. Gruyer, as well as many other critics, refer it to the years 1511–12. The three panels of the tympanum of this picture are in the Museum of Stuttgart, and are by Albertinelli. See Auguste Castan, *La Physionomie primitive du Rétable de Fra Bartolommeo*, also Wilhelm Lübke, *Fra Bartolommeo's Madonna Carondelet* in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1891.

[25] This picture is in the Pitti. The Christ Child is placing a ring upon the finger of St. Catherine of Siena. St. Catherine of Alexandria kneels at one side, and Saints Peter and Paul, Bartholomew, George, and Peter Martyr, as well as three monks and three other figures, help to fill this important composition.

of figures, among which are children hovering in the air, and holding an open pavilion or canopy ; they are very well drawn, and in such powerful relief, that they appear to stand out from the picture ; the colouring of the flesh displays that beauty and excellence which every able artist desires to impart to his works, and the painting, even in the present day, is esteemed to be most excellent. The Virgin in this work is surrounded by numerous figures, all well executed, graceful, full of expression, and highly animated ; they are coloured in so bold a manner, that they would rather seem to be in relief than parts of a level surface, the master desiring to show, that he could not only draw, but give force, and add the fitting degree of shadow to his figures, and this he has amply effected in a canopy or pavilion, upheld by certain children who are hovering in the air, and seem to come forth from the picture.* There is also a figure of Christ, as an infant, espousing the Nun, St. Catherine ; the treatment is bold and free, nor is it possible to imagine anything more life-like than this group : a circle of saints, receding in perspective on each side, disappears within the depth of a large recess, and this train of figures is arranged with so much ability that they seem to be real. It is obvious, that in the colouring of this work Bartolommeo has closely imitated the paintings of Leonardo da Vinci, more particularly in the shadows, for which he has used printer's smoke or printer's black, and the black of burnt ivory or ivory-black. These two blacks have caused the picture to darken greatly, they having constantly become deeper, so that the work is now much heavier in the shadows than it was when first painted. Before the principal figures in this picture there is a San Giorgio [26] in armour, bearing a standard in his hand, an imposing, powerful, and life-like figure, the atti-

* A slight inadvertence on the part of our author or his copyist will here be perceived, in the repetition of a passage to be found immediately above.

[26] This is St. Michael rather. The blackness to which Vasari refers is now naturally more pronounced than when he wrote. It was probably caused by Fra Bartolommeo's use of bone black and printer's ink.

tude of which is very fine. No less worthy of praise is the San Bartolommeo standing upright in the same work; and equally excellent are two children seated, the one playing on a lute, the other on a lyre, the first of these has his leg raised and bent, he is supporting his instrument thereon, and his fingers move the strings in the act of playing: the ear is bent in rapt attention to the harmony, the head is turned upwards and the mouth is slightly opened, with so life-like an effect, that while looking at it, the spectator cannot persuade himself that he does not hear the sound of the voice. The other child, leaning on one side, bends his ear to the lyre, and seems to be listening intently, with the purpose of marking the degree of its accord with the lute and voice: occupied with his efforts to bring his instrument into harmony with that melody, he has his eyes riveted to the ground, and turns the ear attentively towards his companion, who is singing and playing. All these varied expressions are rendered with much ingenuity; the children are both sitting, as we have said, and are clothed in veils, every part is admirably executed by the able hand of Fra Bartolommeo, and the whole work comes out most harmoniously from its dark shadows.

A short time after the completion of this picture, our artist painted another, which is also considered a good one; the subject is Our Lady with saints around her.[27] Fra Bartolommeo obtained much commendation for his manner of drawing figures, which he did with such remarkable softness of outline, that he added to the art by this means a great increase of harmony; his figures really appear to be in relief, they are executed in the most animated manner, and finished with the utmost perfection.

Having heard much of the excellent works which Michael

[27] This is a Virgin in Glory; it is in the Church of San Marco, and was painted in 1509. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 681, has remarked that Fra Bartolommeo, saddened by the death of Savonarola, and naturally thoughtful, left to Raphael the idyllic Virgins (of the Meadow, the Goldfinch, etc.), and in his turn celebrated rather the Queen of Heaven and the Virgin in Glory.

Angelo and the gracious* Raphael were performing in Rome, and being moved by the praises of these masters, for the Monk was perpetually receiving accounts of the marvels effected by the two divine artists, he finally, having obtained permission of the Prior, repaired to Rome. He was there received and entertained by the Frate del Piombo.[28] Mariano Fetti, for whom he painted two pictures, at the Convent of San Silvestro, on Monte Cavallo, to which Fra Mariano belonged, the subjects SS. Pietro and Paolo.[29] But the labours undertaken by Fra Bartolommeo in the air of Rome, were not so successful as those executed while he breathed that of Florence; among the vast numbers of works, ancient and modern, which he there found in such overwhelming abundance, he felt himself bewildered and astounded; the proficiency in art which he had believed himself to possess, now appeared to him to be greatly diminished, and he determined to depart, leaving to Raffaello the charge of completing one of the above-mentioned pictures, which he could not remain to finish, the San Pietro namely; that work, therefore, retouched in every part by the admirable Raffaello, was then given to Fra Mariano.

Thus Fra Bartolommeo returned to Florence, and as he had been frequently assailed there with declarations to the effect that he was not capable of painting nude figures, he resolved to show what he could do, and prove that he could accomplish the highest labours of the art as well as other masters; to this end he painted a San Sebastian, wholly

* For graceful read gracious (*grazioso*).

[28] The Frate del Piombo, or Monk of the Seal, literally, Brother of the Lead, was he who had the right to affix the leaden seal to the Pontifical document, and who received a pension which went with the office. Bramante and Sebastiano Luciani were each Frate del Piombo.

[29] Vasari in his Life of Il Rosso says Fra Bartolommeo left Rome without having painted anything there. M. Gruyer admits that he may have made the designs, but thinks he could not have painted these pictures in Rome, but probably did them in Florence. His health was so affected by the climate of Rome that he returned to Florence after a stay of only about two months. The Saints Peter and Paul are now in the Quirinal, the cartoons for them are in the Florentine Academy, and the two first studies are in the Uffizi.

undraped, by way of specimen ; the colouring of this figure is like that of the living flesh, the countenance most beautiful, and in perfect harmony with the beauty of the form ; the whole work, in short, is finished with exquisite delicacy, insomuch that it obtained him infinite praise from the artists.

It is said that when this painting was put up in the church, the Monks discovered, from what they heard in the confessionals, that the grace and beauty of the vivid imitation of life, imparted to his work by the talents of Fra Bartolommeo, had given occasion to the sin of light and evil thoughts ; they consequently removed it from the church and placed it in the Chapter House, but it did not remain there long, having been purchased by Giovanni Batista della Palla, who sent it to the King of France.[30]

Fra Bartolommeo had often felt greatly displeased with the joiners who prepared the frames and external ornaments of his pictures, for these men had the custom then as they have now, of concealing one-eighth of the picture by the projection of their frames, he determined therefore to invent some contrivance by which he might be enabled to dispense with these frames altogether ; to this end he caused the panel of the San Sebastiano to be prepared, in the form of a semicircle ; on this he then drew a niche in perspective, which has the appearance of being carved in relief on the panel ; thus painting an ornament, which served as a frame to the figure which he had executed in the middle of his work ; he did the same thing for the San Vincenzio, as well as for the San Marco, of which we shall speak again hereafter. Fra Bartolommeo painted a figure in oil over the door which leads into the sacristy of the Convent, the subject being San Vincenzio, who was a Monk of his own order,

[30] This was not the first time that Fra Bartolommeo had painted the nude. The picture was taken from one of the Royal *châteaux* near Paris ; during the Revolution it fell into the hands of ignorant people, was sold at Montpellier for forty-eight francs, and now belongs to M. Charles Alaffre, Justice of the Peace at Pézenas. See M. Gustave Gruyer, *Fra Bartolommeo*, p. 69.

preaching on the rigours of the Divine Justice. In the attitude of this figure, but still more in the head, there is all that sternness and imposing severity, usually manifest in the countenance of the preacher who is labouring to induce men, obstinate in their sins, to amendment of life, by setting before them the terrors of the justice of God,[31] not painted but really in life, does this admirable figure appear to him who regards it attentively, so powerful is the relief with which it is executed, and very much is it to be lamented, that the painting is rapidly becoming a ruin, being cracked all over from having been painted with fresh colours on a fresh ground, as I have remarked respecting the works of Pietro Perugino, painted in the Ingesuati.

Our artist had been told that his manner was minute,[32] and felt inclined to show that he was not unequal to the delineation of large figures ; he therefore painted a picture on panel for the wall in which is the door of the choir, representing St. Mark the Evangelist, a figure five braccia high, in which he exhibited admirable design and great mastery of his art.[33]

The Florentine merchant, Salvatore Billi, on his return from a sojourn in Naples, having heard the fame of Fra Bartolommeo, and having seen his works, caused him to paint a picture, representing Christ the Saviour, in allusion to his own name. The Redeemer is surrounded by the four Evangelists, and has at his feet two children, who sup-

[31] This picture is in the Florentine Academy. Milanesi remarks that the life of Fra Bartolommeo is one of the most accurate in Vasari's series ; he attributes this excellence to the knowledge which the author may have derived from Fra Eustachio the miniaturist, a contemporary and companion of Baccio. M. Gruyer says that, according to Father Serafino Razzi, the St. Vincent is a portrait of the famous preacher, Tommaso Cajani.

[32] To call the average work of the Frate *minute* is to apply an inappropriate term to it. He often painted small figures delicately, but that is a different matter from having a minute manner.

[33] Painted in 1515 ; it is now in the Pitti. The imitation of Michelangelo in this figure has often been pointed out, but it also strongly suggests Raphael in his tapestry cartoons ; it is a fine figure, but there is a certain emptiness about it which prevents it from attaining grandeur.

port the globe of the world; these children are admirably painted, their forms having all the tender freshness proper to their youth; the whole work is equally excellent, the figures of two prophets more particularly, which are highly extolled.[34] This painting is placed in the Nunziata at Florence, beneath the great organ, such being the desire of Salvatore; it is indeed a beautiful thing, and was executed by the monk with infinite love, so that he brought it to a most felicitous conclusion; there is now placed around it a rich decoration, all sculptured in marble, by the hand of Pietro Roselli.

After completing this work it became necessary to Fra Bartolommeo to take change of air, and the Prior, who was then his friend, sent him to a monastery of their Order which was situated at a certain distance without the city.[35] While abiding in that place he finally arrived at the wished for power of accompanying the labour of his hands with the uninterrupted contemplation of death. For the church of San Martino in Lucca this master painted a picture of the Madonna, with an angel playing on a lute at her feet; San Stefano stands on one side of the Virgin, and San Giovanni on the other; the work is a good one, whether as regards design or colouring, and affords full proof of the master's ability.[36] In the church of San Romano also there is a picture by Fra Bartolommeo, the Madonna della Miseri-

[34] Executed in 1516; it is now in the Pitti, the Isaiah and Job are in the Uffizi, where are also the drawings for the two figures. The central picture (Pitti) is a dignified composition wholly in the character of the advanced and full Renaissance; the Isaiah and Job are souvenirs of Michelangelo, but, like the St. Mark, in spite of their grandly disposed drapery, are somewhat unsatisfactory reminiscences.

[35] To the convent of La Maddalena in pian di Mugnone, on the road to the Mugello. Fra Bartolommeo painted for this convent, in 1515, three frescoes—an Annunciation, a Head of Christ, and Saints Dominick and Francis embracing each other. In 1517 he executed two pictures for the same place—a Christ Appearing to the Magdalen, and a Christ Crucified, with a Magdalen at the foot of the Cross. See M. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[36] Lucca is fortunate in possessing two of the painter's greatest works. This picture, painted in 1509, is still in the cathedral. Studies for the Saints John and Stephen, as also for the *ensemble* of the picture, are in the Uffizi.

cordia,[37] namely, the painting is on canvas, and is placed on a projection of stone, angels support her mantle, and around her is a concourse of people scattered over a flight of steps, some seated, others standing, but all with their looks turned earnestly towards a figure of Christ appearing in the heavens, and showering down lightnings and thunder-bolts upon the people.[38] In this picture Fra Bartolommeo has given proof of his power over the difficulties of his art, the perfection with which he knew how to manage the gradual diminution of the shadows, and the softening of the darker tints, imparting extraordinary relief to his work, and showing his admirable excellence in colouring, design, and invention; in a word, this is as perfect a picture as ever proceeded from his hands. In the same church he painted another picture, also on canvas, the subject our Saviour with St. Catherine the Martyr, and St. Catherine of Siena, the latter in an ecstacy, rapt from earth, a figure than which it is not possible that anything better can be done in that manner.[39]

Having returned to Florence Fra Bartolommeo occupied himself much with music, and finding great pleasure therein he would sometimes sing for his amusement. In Prato he painted a picture of the Assumption,[40] opposite to the prison

[37] Painted in 1515, now in the Museum of Lucca. The vast amount of work accomplished by Fra Bartolommeo in his short life is not a little surprising. This picture, for instance, contains forty-one life-size figures. See M. G. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[38] Vasari is here in error, Christ is giving a blessing, and on a scroll held by flying angels may be read: "*Misereor super turbam.*" Milanesi, IV., p. 191, note 3, says that the original color sketch for this picture belongs to Cav. Giovanbatista Mauri da Santa Maria at Lucca. In the Uffizi is a pen sketch of the Virgin and the group to the left of her.

[39] Painted in 1508–9; it is now in the Museum of Lucca. In this picture God the Father, not Christ, is seen above, and St. Catherine of Siena, not St. Catherine the Martyr, kneels below with the Magdalen. The Florentine Academy has the cartoons for the two saints, and the Uffizi has a pen study for the figure of God the Father; the latter is so delicately executed as to have been ascribed to Leonardo da Vinci.

[40] It was executed in 1516 for S. Maria in Castello of Prato; it is in the Museum at Naples, and not in the Berlin Museum, as has often been stated; the

of the city ; for the House of Medici also this master painted certain pictures of the Madonna, with other works for different persons : among these is a figure of the Virgin, which is now in the possession of Ludovico, son of Ludovico Capponi, with another, also of Our Lady holding the divine Child in her arms, and with the heads of two Saints beside her : this last belongs to the very excellent Signor Lelio Torelli, principal secretary to the most illustrious Duke Cosimo, by whom it is held in the highest estimation,[41] not only for the sake of Fra Bartolommeo, but also from the love which he had ever borne to the art, and to those who are distinguished in it, whom he constantly favours, as he does all men of genius.

In the house formerly belonging to Pier Pugliese, now that of Matteo Botti, a Florentine citizen and merchant, Fra Bartolommeo painted a figure of St. George, in a recess on the summit of a staircase ;[42] the Saint is on horseback, armed and engaged in conflict with the dragon. The picture, which is a highly animated work, is a chiaro-scuro in oil ; it was a frequent custom with this master to treat his paintings in that manner, or to sketch them in the manner of a cartoon, shading them with ink or asphalte before he coloured them, as may still be seen by many things which he left unfinished at his death. There are also numerous drawings in chiaro-scuro by Fra Bartolommeo still remaining, the greater part of which are now in the monastery of Santa Caterina of Siena, which is situate on the Piazza of San Marco ; they are in the possession of a nun,[43] who oc-

upper part of this picture is by Albertinelli. See Milanesi, IV., p. 193, note 1. During this visit to Prato, Fra Bartolommeo told his uncle Giusto, who lived just outside the town, that he, Bartolommeo, had been invited by King Francis I. to enter his service. Ill health and constant occupation seem to have put an end to all thought of this visit. See M. G. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[41] These pictures cannot be identified.

[42] The St. George has been covered with whitewash. See Bottari, Marchese, and Milanesi, IV., p. 194, note 2.

[43] The drawings are dispersed. The nun referred to was called Sister Plautilla Nelli. The convent of St. Catherine was suppressed in 1812, and the building now forms a part of the academy. Fra Bartolommeo left his draw-

cupies herself with painting, and of whom mention will be made in due course. Many of the same kind, and also by his hand, enrich our book of designs, and others are in the possession of the eminent physician, Messer Francesco del Garbo.

Fra Bartolommeo always considered it advisable to have the living object before him when he worked; and the better to execute his draperies, arms, and things of similar kind, he caused a figure, the size of life, to be made in wood, with the limbs moveable at the joints, and on this he then arranged the real draperies,[44] from which he afterwards produced admirable paintings, seeing that he could retain these things in the desired position as long as he pleased. This model, worm-eaten and ruined as it is, we keep in our possession as a memorial of this excellent master.

At the Abbey of the Black Friars in Arezzo, Fra Bartolommeo painted the head of Christ in dark tints, a very beautiful picture.[45] He also painted the picture for the Brotherhood of the *Contemplanti*, which last was long pre-

ings to Fra Paolino of Pistoja, who in turn gave them to Sister Plautilla. The most important of these are at the Uffizi, in Weimar, Lille, and Paris (the Louvre); but the British Museum, the École des Beaux Arts of Paris, the galleries of Dresden, Berlin, and Vienna have fine examples, and M. Léon Bonnât, the celebrated painter, has more than twenty drawings, which came from the Ottolini collection of Lucca. See M. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Morelli (Italian Painters, II., p. 117), says that the Munich collection also possesses some twenty good drawings by Fra Bartolommeo. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 202, has an interesting note upon the women painters; he mentions the five women of the Anguisciola family in Cremona, Irene of Spilimberg (see the Life of Titian), the sculptress Properzia de' Rossi, and a "whole series of Dominican nuns who were artists."

[44] This figure is now in the Academy at Florence. Leonardo da Vinci and Lorenzo di Credi made use of clay models before the invention of the lay figure. When Albertinelli and Fra Bartolommeo dissolved partnership it was stipulated that certain properties were to go to Fra Bartolommeo, and on his death that the said material should revert to Albertinelli. Among these articles were the lay figure already mentioned, as well as another one of life size, a pair of compasses, and a cast of one of the *putti* by Desiderio from the Marsuppini monument in Santa Croce.

[45] This work is lost.

served in the palace of the illustrious Messer Ottaviano de' Medici, and has now been deposited in the chapel of that house by his son Messer Alessandro, who has placed it therein with many decorations, holding it in most precious estimation in memory of Fra Bartolommeo, and also because he takes infinite delight in paintings.[46]

In the chapel of the Novitiate of San Marco there is a picture of the Purification by this master; a very pleasing work, well drawn, and equally well finished;[47] and at the monastery of Santa Maddalena, a house belonging to the Dominican Monks, at some distance from Florence, there is a figure of the Saviour, with one of Mary Magdalene, which Fra Bartolommeo painted while dwelling there for his recreation. He likewise executed certain pictures in fresco for the Cloister of the Convent.[48] In an arch over the Stranger's apartments in the Monastery of San Marco, Fra Bartolommeo also painted a fresco, the subject is the Meeting of our Saviour with Cleophas and Luke; in this work the master placed the portrait of Fra Niccolo della Magna, who was then young, but who afterwards became Archbishop of Capua, and was finally created a Cardinal.[49]

[46] This work cannot be identified. According to Milanesi, IV., p. 196, note 2, Signor Giuseppe Volpini claims that it is in his possession and is a Virgin and Child, with Saints Joseph, Anna, and the Infant St. John. M. Gruyer mentions among other works of Fra Bartolommeo an Assumption (Berlin), a Holy Family (Panshanger collection); a Death of Sant' Antonino (same collection); a Madonna with Saints Peter and Paul (Pisa, church of St. Catherine); a triptych (Milan, Poldi-Pezzoli collection); a Virgin surrounded by saints of the Dominican Order (La Quercia); a Virgin and Child and an Annunciation (in the Seminario at Venice); St. Catherine and the Magdalen (Belle Arti of Siena), and pictures in Rome in the Borghese (a Nativity), Corsini (a Holy Family), and Sciarra-Colonna (Madonna and Child and little St. John). See G. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–99.

[47] Executed in 1516; the picture is now in the Gallery at Vienna. The Grand Duke Leopold bought it in 1781, but it eventually passed into the hands of the Emperor Joseph II.

[48] The Christ and Magdalen are still in the convent, see note 35. The monochrome head of Christ in the Badia de' Monaci Neri is lost.

[49] The figure seen in profile is Fra Niccolò Schomberg, afterward Cardinal, and the third one is Sante Pagnini, Prior of San Marco, a distinguished oriental scholar and art patron.

In San Gallo he commenced a picture, which was afterwards finished by Giuliano Bugiardini, and is now at the altar of San Jacopo-fra-Fossi, at the corner of the Alberti.[50] Another work, begun by the same master, representing the Abduction of Dina, was subsequently coloured by the same Giuliano; there are in this picture certain buildings, with many other peculiarities therein, which have been very highly extolled; it is now in the possession of Messer Cristofano Rinieri.[51]

From Piero Soderini, Fra Bartolommeo received a commission to paint a picture for the Hall of Council; and this he commenced so beautifully in chiaro-scuro, that it would without doubt have done him infinite honour had it been completed; unfinished as it is, this work has been placed with great honour in the chapel of the illustrious Ottaviano de' Medici, in San Lorenzo. In the picture[52] now in question, are the figures of all the Patron Saints of Florence, as well as those of all other Saints on whose days the city has gained victories in war. The portrait of Fra Bartolommeo himself will also be found in this work, painted by his own hand, with the aid of a mirror.

The master had entirely completed the design of the above described picture, when, in consequence of having

[50] Now in the Pitti; it is a Dead Christ, supported by John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary, and Mary Magdalen. Vasari describes it at greater length in the Life of Bugiardini. M. Gruyer refuses to believe that the latter painter finished this picture. It is thought that the figures of the two saints, Peter and Paul, may have been separated from the body of the picture, as the work of an inferior hand (Bugiardini's), and as discordant with the rest. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, History of Painting in Italy, III., p. 472.

[51] Now in the Vienna collection, but painted by Bugiardini, after a design of the Frate. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, III., p. 498.

[52] On November 26, 1510, Fra Bartolommeo was commissioned by the Signory to paint for the Palazzo a picture to take the place of the one ordered of Filippino Lippi, but never begun by the latter. This picture was left incomplete by Bartolommeo, the fine *ébauche* for it is in the Uffizi and represents the patron saints of Florence grouped around the Virgin in a rhythmical and symmetrical composition, as advanced in science as is anything to be found in the work of the Roman school. The Uffizi has several drawings made as studies for this picture. See M. G. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

laboured perpetually beneath a window, the rays from which poured constantly on his back, one side of his body became paralyzed, and he could not move himself. He was therefore advised by his physician to proceed to the baths at San Filippo, but although he remained there a considerable time, he became but very little better. Fra Bartolommeo was a great lover of fruit, finding the flavour particularly grateful to him, although it was exceedingly injurious to his health; wherefore one morning, having eaten very plentifully of figs, he was attacked, in addition to his previous malady, with a violent access of fever, which finished the course of his life in four days, and when he had attained the age of forty-eight[53] years; he retained his consciousness to the last, and with humble trust resigned his soul to Heaven.[54]

[53] He died on October 6, 1517, aged forty-two years, never having advanced beyond the orders of a deacon. Throughout his life Fra Bartolommeo was the devoted, faithful adherent of Savonarola. A portrait of the great Frate was among his earliest pictures, and another representation of him as St. Peter Martyr, in a fresco in the convent of S. Maria in pian Mugnone, was one of the last works which he ever executed.

[54] More than any other painter Fra Bartolommeo may be called the one who drew the line deeply between the first and second Renaissance, between the age of upgrowth and the time of perfect flowering. Even Leonardo and Raphael are transitional painters when compared with Baccio della Porta, for Raphael begins in Urbino and Perugia, his early canvases and Leonardo's Virgin of the Rocks still recall the spring-time of Italian art. With both of these great painters the transition is gradual and natural, but Fra Bartolommeo seems to deliberately throw aside his earlier and more delicate manner in order to address himself wholly to the search after the monumental. Fra Bartolommeo in his second manner belongs entirely to the new order of things. He announces the culmination, though he does not attain the summit which the greater Raphael and Michelangelo and Correggio reached. It is not inappropriate that this precursor should have worn the Dominican hood, for a great change was coming over Italy, and the first to prophesy it was the Dominican, Fra Bartolommeo's master, Savonarola. Lorenzo the Magnificent was dead, and with him there passed away a generation of artists whose works were cheerful with carefully studied details of daily life, gay with episodes and contemporaneous costume; in their place were to come the relatively abstract creations of Raphael and Michelangelo. "*Bacco in Toscana*" had been succeeded by the murderous Spanish infantry in Prato. Savonarola strove to raise up a regenerate Italy, and his spirit, which thirty years after his death inspired the defence of Florence (of 1529), inspired, too, the artists

The death of Fra Bartolommeo caused infinite grief to his friends, but more particularly to the monks of his order, who gave him honourable sepulture in San Marco on the

who heard his words, Michelangelo, Lorenzo di Credi, Botticelli, and, above all, Fra Bartolommeo. Undoubtedly the cloistral life encouraged this love of abstraction in art; undoubtedly, too, the circumscribed life of the convent is answerable for some of Baccio's technical weaknesses, but the memory of the great Frate lasted throughout Fra Bartolommeo's life, and the precepts of Savonarola may be accounted as a direct factor in the evolution of his art in prompting his rejection of the episodical and accessory, and in inspiring his self-concentration upon what seemed to him the highest qualities—austerity, harmony, elevation.

Technically, Fra Bartolommeo was a better colorist than most Tuscans, though, like Leonardo, he injured his work greatly by the use of black shadows. As draughtsman he was sometimes admirable, always dignified, often indifferent as to detail, sometimes careless as to proportions and types, being peculiarly given to a type of profile which is not only ugly but weak. In the beginning much of his work is delicate, even dainty, but a little later we find him sacrificing nearly all of the decorative paraphernalia of the fifteenth century, and, like Signorelli, he is satisfied with man alone; but unlike Signorelli, who depended upon movement as expressed by muscular structure, he always drapes his figures heavily and counts upon a rhythmical arrangement of the masses. This science of rhythmical composition was the glory of Fra Bartolommeo; the impulse which he communicated, the originality and power which he brought to this science, are what give him his high place in the history of Italian art. The realism and decorative details of the Primitives are set aside by him in favor of abstraction in the types, simplicity in detail, and the maximum of compositional effect produced by the minimum of figures. With him commence the academic but grand compositions which may almost be inscribed in a geometrical figure (such for instance as the pyramid). He precedes and inspires Raphael, showing him the way to the arrangement of his monumental fresco at San Severo of Perugia, and thence to his *Disputà* through the medium of the distribution of the masses in his own (Bartolommeo's) fresco of the Last Judgment. By right of this new departure, this grand sentiment in art, the Frate is a great master; but his pictures are the result of thought rather than of observation; together with this magnificent ordering of the lines and masses comes a carelessness in the types, there is little characterization, the drawing is not close or studied, and even the proportions are sometimes grossly violated. His faces are rarely individual, and he apparently relied too much upon the use of the lay figure (which he is said to have invented); these faults offend the artist, and especially the student, who instinctively resents the careless generalizing of what seems to him supremely important, the human face and figure; but the student of art must not forget that Bartolommeo's beauty is a beauty of line and sweep where all the figures are interdependent and necessary to each other; his grouping is almost architectural, and he elevates composition to a new and higher plane.

8th October, 1517. He had received dispensation from attending to the duties of the choir, and was not required to take part in other offices, so that all the profit resulting from his works, was the property of the convent, he retaining in his own hands only so much money as was necessary for the purchase of colours and other materials requisite for his paintings.

ALBERTINELLI, FLORENTINE PAINTER

[Born 1474; died 1515.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Mariotto's life was so closely interwoven with that of Fra Bartolommeo that any books upon the latter, except such pamphlets and articles as treat only of special pictures, may be consulted for an appreciation of Albertinelli. M. Gustave Gruyer's book would hold an important place in the list.

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI was the most intimate and trusted friend of Fra Bartolommeo, nay, we may almost say his other self,[1] not only because they were continually together, but also for the similarity of their manner, seeing that when Mariotto gave undivided attention to his art, there was a very close resemblance between his works and those of Fra Bartolommeo.

Mariotto was the son of Biagio di Bindo Albertinelli;[2] up to the age of twenty he had practised the trade of a goldbeater, but he then abandoned that calling: he acquired the first principles of painting in the workshops of Cosimo Roselli, and while there formed an intimate acquaintanceship with Baccio della Porta. They were indeed so completely of one mind, and such was the brotherly affection existing between them, that when Baccio left the workshop of Cosimo to exercise his art as a master, Mariotto left it also, and again joined himself to his companion. They accordingly both dwelt for a long time at the gate of San Pier

[1] The annotation to the life of Albertinelli is comparatively meagre, for the reason that the most important facts bearing upon his art and life are wholly or partly covered by the notes to the life of his more famous friend, Fra Bartolommeo.

[2] Mariotto was the son of a goldbeater, Biagio di Bindo Albertinelli and Vittoria di Biagio Rosani. He was born October 14, 1474 (Milanesi, IV., 217, note 2). He was not of the noble Albertinelli, but of a plebeian family (*popolana*), named more properly Bertinelli.

Gattolini, where they executed numerous works in company, and as Mariotto was not so thoroughly grounded in the principles of design as Baccio, the former devoted himself to the study of the antiquities which were then in Florence, and of which the larger as well as the best part was in the Medici palace. Among them were certain small tablets in mezzorilievo, which had been fixed beneath the Loggia in the garden on the side towards San Lorenzo, and these works Mariotto copied several times. In one of the rilievi here alluded to is the figure of Adonis with an exceedingly beautiful dog, and in another are two nude figures, one of which is seated and has a dog at his feet, the other is standing and leaning on a staff, the legs crossed one over the other. Both of these rilievi are wonderfully beautiful, and in the same place there are two others of similar size and almost equal beauty, one of the last mentioned representing two boys bearing the thunderbolts of Jupiter; the other displays the figure of an aged man, entirely nude, having wings at the feet as well as the shoulders, and holding a pair of scales in his hand, this figure is understood to represent Opportunity.[3] In addition to the works here described, there were many others in that garden, which was, so to speak, full of fragments from the antique, torsi for instance of the human form, masculine and feminine, all which were the study, not of Mariotto only, but of all the sculptors and painters of his time. A good part of these works are now in the *Guardaroba*, of the Duke Cosimo, others remain in the same place, as the two torsi of Marsyas for example,[4] the heads over the windows, and those of the Cæsars over the doors.

[3] According to Milanesi, IV., p. 218, note 3, two nudes still exist set in the wall over a door of the Riccardi-Medici Palace. One of the *putti*, holding a thunderbolt, is in the Uffizi, and the figure of the aged man with wings is in the possession of the Cav. Raffaello Lamponi de' Conti Leopardi. The latter figure was offered to the Louvre at a high price, the authorities of the museum agreed to buy it, but the Italian Government declined to let it go out of the country. See the interesting note in Milanesi.

[4] Now in the Uffizi.

By the study of these antiquities Mariotto made great progress in design, and the zeal with which he prosecuted his labours, having become known to Madonna Alfonsini,[5] mother of the Duke Lorenzo, that lady was disposed to render him all the assistance in her power, and he executed several works at her command.

Employing himself in this manner, now occupied with design, and anon with colouring, our artist finally obtained considerable facility, as may be seen from certain pictures painted for Madonna Alfonsina, and which were sent by her to Rome, for Carlo and Giordano Orsini, but which afterwards fell into the hands of Cæsar Borgia.[6] Mariotto painted a likeness of the above-named lady, which was extremely well done,[7] and he began to hope that by her means he should make his fortune; but in the year 1494, Piero de Medici was banished, when the assistance and favour of that family failing him, the painter returned to the dwelling of Baccio della Porta. Here he employed himself assiduously in the preparation of models in clay, and in making studies from Nature; he also carefully imitated the works and methods of Baccio, by which means he became in a few years an able and experienced master. Seeing his works thus improving and finally attaining to great excellence, Mariotto felt himself greatly encouraged, and imitating the manner and methods of his associate more and more closely, his hand was by many not unfrequently taken for that of Baccio della Porta himself.

But when the latter departed, with the resolution of becoming a monk, Mariotto had well nigh gone out of his senses, so completely was he overwhelmed by the loss of his companion. The determination of Baccio appeared to him so extraordinary, that he fell into a state of desperation; for a long time he could take pleasure in nothing, his life was as a burden to him, and at that period, his love for Baccio would certainly have induced him to throw him-

[5] Alfonsina degli Orsini.

[6] These works are lost.

[7] This work is lost.

self into the same convent, had it not been for the antipathy with which he always regarded all monks, of whom he was continually uttering the most injurious remarks: he had even attached himself to the party of those who opposed Fra Girolamo of Ferrara: but had not these obstacles prevented him, there is no doubt that he would have taken the habit of the Dominicans with his friend.

Mariotto was entreated by Gerozza Dini, for whom the Last Judgment, which Baccio had left unfinished in the chapel of the Cemetery, was undertaken, to complete that work, and the rather as he had the same manner with Fra Bartolommeo. The cartoon prepared by the latter was still there, with other designs, and Mariotto, being entreated by Fra Bartolommeo also, who had received money on account of the painting, and was troubled in conscience at the violation of his promise, at length agreed to finish it. With great love and much diligence he then continued the work, and brought it to a most successful conclusion, insomuch that many, not knowing the facts of the case, would suppose the whole to have been executed by one sole hand:[8] this performance therefore obtained Mariotto very great reputation in the art.

At the Certosa of Florence, Mariotto Albertinelli painted a Crucifix,* with our Lady and the Magdalen at the foot of the Cross, while above them are angels receiving the blood of Christ. This picture is in the Chapter House, it is painted in fresco with zealous care, and is very well finished.[9]

Now it chanced that certain of the young men who were studying their art with Mariotto, and worked with him at the Certosa, were dissatisfied with the table supplied to them by the monks, who, as they thought, did not treat them becomingly. Without the knowledge of their master, the disciples thereupon made keys, resembling those of the

* Read Crucifixion (*Crocefisso*), instead of Crucifix.

[8] Mariotto finished the Last Judgment about the year 1500.

[9] Executed in 1506 and still existing.

windows looking into the cells of the monks, and through which they were accustomed to receive their food; by this means they contrived to steal the pittance of the inhabitants, now robbing one and now another. This caused a great outcry among the brethren, for in matters of the mouth a monk is quite as sensitive as any other man, but as the young painters acted their part with great dexterity, and were considered to be very respectable well-conducted persons, they did not attribute the blame to them, but on the contrary accused certain of the monks, whom they believed to have abstracted the food out of hatred to those robbed, and who obtained all the credit of the contrivance. One morning the truth was made known and the mystery explained, whereupon the monks, to be rid of their tormentors, agreed to double the rations of Mariotto and his scholars, provided only that they would promise to finish the work speedily, which was accordingly effected with great merriment and many a joyous laugh.

For the nuns of San Giuliano in Florence, Mariotto painted the picture of the High Altar.[10] This work he executed at a room which he had in the Gualfonda, together with another for the same church, in which he represented the Trinity, a Crucifix * that is to say, surrounded by angels, with the figure of God the Father painted in oil on a gold ground.[11]

Mariotto was a man of restless character, a lover of the table, and addicted to the pleasures of life, it thus happened that the laborious minutiæ and racking of brain attendant on the study and exercise of art, became insufferable to him. He had frequently been not a little mortified also, by the tongues of his brother artists, who tormented him, as their custom is and always has been, the habit descend-

* Read Crucifixion.

[10] This picture, now in the Academy of Florence, is of a Madonna and Child surrounded by Saints John the Baptist, Julian, Dominick, and Nicholas of Bari.

[11] In the Florentine Academy.

ing from one to another by inheritance, and being maintained in perpetual activity. He determined therefore, to adopt a calling, which if less elevated, would be also less fatiguing and much more cheerful : our artist accordingly opened a very handsome hotel, the house being one of those outside the Gate of San Gallo ; but not content with this he likewise established a tavern and eating-house, at the Drago, near the Ponte Vecchio.[12] In these places he performed the duties of host during several months, affirming that he had chosen a profession wherein there was no embarrassment with perspective, foreshortenings, or muscles, and what was still more, no criticism or censure to dread ; whereas that which he had abandoned was beset on the contrary with all those disadvantages : the object of the calling he had left, Mariotto would remark, was to imitate flesh and blood, whereas that which he had adopted made both blood and flesh ; here again as he declared, he found himself daily receiving praises for his good wine, while in his old occupation, he was perpetually criticised, and hourly compelled to listen to the blame bestowed on his performances.

But in a short time his newly chosen appointment became more intolerable than his early profession had been. Disgusted by the debasement of the avocation he had adopted, Mariotto resumed his painting, and executed numerous pictures of all kinds in the houses of the Florentine citizens. He received a commission for three small pictures, from Giovanni Maria Benintendi,[13] and on the elevation of Leo X. to the chair of St. Peter, he painted

[12] The so-called Casa di Dante was, if we can believe the story, selected by Albertinelli for his tavern. Late restorations have removed the traces of the three arches which belonged to the *loggia* where Albertinelli entertained his customers. The first wine-shop was situated near the Ponte Vecchio, but he afterward removed to the house of the Alighieri (see Horner's Walks in Florence). M. Müntz says, on the contrary, that Mariotto's tavern was outside the San Gallo Gate (that is to say, in quite another quarter of Florence), and near the old bridge of "the Dragon."

[13] As Vasari does not describe the subjects, the pictures cannot be identified.

a circular picture in oil for the house of Medici, which was long suspended over the gate of their palace. In this work he depicted the arms of the Medici, accompanied by the figures of Faith, Hope, and Charity.[14]

For the brotherhood of San Zanobi, which has its abode near the Chapter House of Santa Maria del Fiore, Mariotto undertook to execute a picture of the Annunciation, but this he did not bring to a conclusion without a vast amount of labour.[15] He had caused the light to be arranged in the precise manner suited to his work, which he desired to execute on the spot, to the end that he might impart to each separate portion of the picture its due effect; increasing or diminishing, as the distance of each figure might demand; and giving to every part its required amount of light. Mariotto was persuaded that paintings are worthy of estimation only in proportion as they combine relief and force with softness; he knew that the figures could not stand forth from the plane surface without shadows, but if these are too dark the work is rendered indistinct, and if too faint the picture is found to be wanting in force; he would fain have secured the perfection of softness for his painting, together with a certain something in the treatment, to which art, in his opinion, had never previously attained. Now he thought that on this occasion the opportunity for accomplishing what he desired was presented to him, and he devoted himself to his task accordingly with unwonted zeal and energy. The efforts he thus made are manifest in a figure of God the Father, appearing in the heavens, and in those of numerous children, which come strikingly forth from the picture, shown as they are on the dark perspective of the background; one part of this represents a coved ceiling, the curves of which are turned in such a manner, with all the lines vanishing at the point of sight, which recedes to a very great depth, that the whole appears to be cut in relief: there are besides angels hovering above, and

[14] This work appears to have perished.

[15] This work, executed in 1510, is now in the Florentine Academy.

scattering flowers as they fly, which are executed with infinite grace.

Before Mariotto could bring this work to a conclusion, he painted it and then painted it out again, several times, now darkening the colour, now rendering the tints clearer, at one time adding vivacity and glow, but immediately after diminishing the effect, yet never satisfying himself or producing what he desired, seeing that he could not feel certain of having succeeded in expressing with his hand all the thoughts which he had conceived in his mind; he found it impossible, that is, to make the pencil keep pace with the imagination. He wished, among other things, to find a white that should have more brilliancy than could be given by any previously known; whereupon he set himself to clarify the existing materials, hoping thereby to enhance the effect of the high lights at his pleasure.[16] At length, however, discovering that art is not equal to the production or representation of all that the human intellect is capable of conceiving, he resolved to content himself with what he had effected, since he could not attain to what was impossible. This work obtained great praise and honour for its author among artists, but he did not derive from it the remuneration which he had hoped for, having fallen into a dispute with the persons who had commissioned him to execute it. The price had indeed ultimately to be estimated by Pietro Perugino—then advanced in years, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, and Francesco Granacci, who settled the amount by common consent.

In the church of San Pancrazio, at Florence, Mariotto Albertinelli painted the Visitation of Our Lady, giving to his picture the form of a half circle.[17] He also executed a painting for Zanobi del Maestro, in Santa Trinita; the subject of this work is Our Lady, with San Girolamo and San Zanobi, a picture which Mariotto completed with much

[16] Here we again see the strong influence of Leonardo da Vinci as well upon Mariotto as upon Fra Bartolommeo.

[17] Milanesi is unable to say anything of the whereabouts of this picture.

care.[18] For the church belonging to the Congregation of the priests of San Martino, this artist painted another Visitation, which is highly commended.[19] He was subsequently invited to the convent of La Quercia, which is situated at a short distance from the gate of Viterbo, and there, after having commenced a picture,[20] he conceived a wish to visit Rome, whither he proceeded accordingly. While in that city Mariotto painted a picture in oil at the church of San Silvestro, on Monte Cavallo, for Fra Mariano Fetti;[21] the subject of this work is the Marriage of St. Catherine; Our Lady, and San Domenico, are here painted in a very delicate manner. Having completed this work, the master returned to La Quercia, where he had left an *inamorata*, to whom his thoughts had recurred with much affection during his residence in Rome: desiring therefore to appear to advantage in her presence, Mariotto exerted himself beyond his strength during the games of a festival, and being no longer young nor possessing the energies required for such efforts, he was compelled to take to his bed in consequence of that imprudence. Attributing his indisposition to the air of the place, he caused himself to be transported in a litter to Florence; but no restoratives nor applications were found sufficient to recover him from his malady, and

[18] Executed in 1506; it is now in the Louvre. In the background at the right is a procession of figures descending a road lined with buildings, while there are also little scenes from the lives of Jerome and Zanobius.

[19] This picture, painted in 1503, and now in the Uffizi, is not only Albertinelli's greatest work, but is also one of the masterpieces of the Renaissance. The *gradino*, separated from the picture, but also in the Uffizi, contains the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Presentation in the Temple. The fine drawing for the Visitation is also in the Uffizi.

[20] Vasari does not give the subject of this painting, but in the Life of Puntormo he says that Mariotto went to La Quercia to finish the picture commenced there by Fra Bartolommeo, namely, a Virgin and Child surrounded by Dominican saints. The records of the convent show, on the contrary, that Fra Paolino of Pistoja finished the latter picture. See Milanesi, IV., p. 225, note 2.

[21] His picture for San Silvestro, a Virgin and Child, with Saints Dominick and Catherine of Siena, is still in the church. See M. G. Gruyer, *Fra Bartolommeo della Porta et Mariotto Albertinelli*, p. 78.

in a few days he died in the forty-fifth year of his age. He was buried at San Piero Maggiore, in the city of Florence.[22]

We have some very good designs by the hand of this master[23] in our book of drawings, they are done with the pen in chiaro-scuro; among them is a spiral staircase of exceeding difficulty, this is drawn in perspective, in the laws whereof Mariotto was very well versed.[24] [25]

[22] Albertinelli died November 5, 1515.

[23] M. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, mentions especially among his designs those for the Visitation in the Uffizi, the Presentation in the Temple, and the *Noli me Tangere*, the two latter in the Louvre.

[24] M. Gruyer, *op. cit.*, mentions among the works of Albertinelli: An Annunciation (Munich); a Coronation of the Virgin (Stuttgart); an Enthroned Virgin with Saints (Vienna); a Madonna, 1509 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge); two pictures at Castle Howard, in England; Adam and Eve and the Sacrifice of Abraham; a Christ appearing to the Magdalen (Louvre); a Holy Family in the Pitti at Florence); an Annunciation (in the Hospital of S. M. Nuova); and a little triptych (in the Poldi-Pezzoli at Milan).

[25] Mariotto Albertinelli has almost sunk his artistic personality in that of his famous friend Fra Bartolommeo, although as a man he seems to have been the very opposite of the friar. He is the type of what we like to imagine as the painter-apprentice of the Renaissance—mischievous, swaggering, quite ready to take up a quarrel for his master (see the Life of Jacopo Bellini), and purveyor of drolleries which older men shared; of witty speeches and of practical jokes, which the Italians of the Renaissance prized highly. In fact we readily recognize in Mariotto the "*persona inquietissima*" of Vasari, but he was admirably serious when once he began to paint, and although his art has not the depth nor the conviction which we find in the work of his greater friend and rival, his pictures sometimes attain a high point of excellence, and his Visitation in the Uffizi would in itself suffice for his reputation as a master.

THE FLORENTINE ARCHITECTS, GIULIANO AND ANTONIO DA SAN GALLO

[Born 1445; died 1516.] [Born 1455; died 1534.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Rudolf Redtenbacher, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Lebens des Florentinischen Architekten Giuliano da San Gallo* (*Allgemeine Bauzeitung* of 1879), Vienna. Rudolf Redtenbacher in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler*. J. H. Middleton, in the Encyclopædia Britannica. J. de Laurière, *Giuliano da San Gallo et les Monuments antiques du Midi de la France*, Paris, 1885. H. von Geymüller, *Documents inédits sur les Manuscrits et les Œuvres d'Architecture de la famille des San Gallo*, Paris, 1885. Ravioli, *Notizie sui Lavori di Architettura militare, sugli Scritti o Disegni inediti dei nove da San Gallo*, Rome, 1863. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1879, I., p. 359. A. Lambert, *La Madonna di San Biagio près Montepulciano*, Stuttgart, 1884. H. Von Geymüller, *Projets Primitifs pour la basilique de Saint Pierre de Rome*, Paris, 1875–1880.

FRANCESCO DI PAOLO GIAMBERTI, who was a tolerably good architect of the time of Cosimo de' Medici, by whom he was frequently employed, had two sons, Giuliano and Antonio, both of whom he destined to the art of carving in wood.[1] With this view he placed the elder with the joiner Francione; who was an exceedingly ingenious person, well versed in perspective, and an able wood-carver, with whom Francesco di Paolo was intimately acquainted, they having executed in company many works, both in carving and architecture, for Lorenzo de' Medici. So rapidly did Giuliano acquire all which his master Francione taught him, that the beautiful carvings and works in perspective which he afterwards executed without assistance, when he had left his master, in the

[1] Their father was Francesco di Bartolo di Stefano Giamberti, and there is some uncertainty as to whether 1452 may not be the date of Guiliano's birth, though 1445 is entered in the books of the city of Florence.

choir of the cathedral,[2] are held in esteem to the present day, and even when seen with the various works in perspective executed in our own times, are not regarded without admiration.

While Giuliano was still occupied with his studies in design,[3] and the blood of youth was still dancing in his veins, the Duke of Calabria, moved by the hatred which he bore to Lorenzo de' Medici, brought his army to encamp before Castellana,* proposing to occupy the territories of the Florentine Signoria, and, if he succeeded in his first enterprise, to attempt something of still greater magnitude. The illustrious Lorenzo thereupon saw himself compelled to despatch an engineer to Castellana for the purpose of constructing bastions and defences of various kinds, and who should also take charge of the artillery, to the management of which few men were at that time competent. He therefore sent thither Giuliano, whom he considered to be a man of intelligence, promptitude, and resolution, one, too, who was known to him as being the son of Francesco, who had ever proved himself a faithful servant of the house of Medici.

Arrived at Castellana,[4] therefore, Giuliano fortified the place within and without, constructing good walls and strong outworks, with all other defences necessary to the security of the town. He remarked that the artillery-men handled their guns very timidly, standing at a distance from them while loading or raising them, and firing them with evident fear; he set himself therefore to remedy this

* Castellina rather.

[2] It was not Giuliano da San Gallo but Francione, G. da Majano and Guido di Filippo da Seravallino who worked in the choir. See Milanesi, IV., p. 268, note 3.

[3] We hear of Giuliano first in Rome, where from 1469 to 1472 he worked on the palace of San Marco and in the tribune of (old) Saint Peter's. See Eug. Müntz, *Les Arts à la cour des Papes*, Vol. II.

[4] The documents in the Florentine State Archives do not mention Giuliano as having been engaged upon the works for the defence of La Castellina. This town, assaulted June 26, 1478, by the Dukes of Calabria and Urbino, surrendered on the 3d of the following August.

evil, and so contrived that no further accidents happened to the artillery-men, although several of them had previously been killed by the recoil ; they not having experience and judgment enough to fire their pieces with the degree of management proper to prevent that recoil from doing injury to those around. Nay, furthermore, when Giuliano took the control of that department, his intelligence in the details of the arrangements connected therewith, inspired the camp of the Duke with so much terror that, being compelled by this and other adverse circumstances, he was glad to come to terms, and so raised the siege. These things gained Giuliano no small praise in Florence, and obtained him the good-will of Lorenzo, who received him most favourably and loaded him with commendations.

Having afterwards turned his attention to architecture, Giuliano commenced the first Cloister of the Monastery of Cestello,[5] and constructed that part of it which is of the Ionic order, placing the capitals on the columns, and finishing them with their volutes, which turned, winding down, to the collerino where the shaft of the column terminates ; beneath the uvola and fusarola he added a frieze, the height of which was a third of the diameter of the column. This capital was copied from a very ancient one in marble, which had been found at Fiesole by Messer Leonardo Salviati, bishop of that place, who had it for a long time, with many other antiquities, in a house and garden in the Via San Gallo opposite to Sant' Agata, wherein he dwelt : it is now in the possession of Messer Giovanni Ricasoli, bishop of Pistoja, by whom, as well as by all intelligent artists, this work is held in great estimation for its beauty and variety, and the rather, as no capital resembling this has ever been found among the antiquities which at different times have been discovered, even to the present day. But this Cloister of Cestello remained incomplete, the monks of the monastery

[5] In 1492, according to Masselli. This is the cloister before the church of Santa Maddalena de' Pazzi which is that formerly called the Cestello.

not having at that time the means for meeting so great an expense.

The credit of Giuliano with Lorenzo de' Medici had meanwhile much increased, the latter, proposing to erect an edifice at Poggio-a-Cajano, a place between Florence and Pistoja, had caused several models of what he desired to be made by Francione and other masters; he now commissioned Giuliano also to prepare one. This he did accordingly, making his models so entirely unlike those of all others and so completely to Lorenzo's wish, that the latter began to have it instantly put in execution, as the best of all that had been presented to him; and the favour of Giuliano so greatly increased with him in consequence, that he ever afterwards paid him a yearly stipend.[6]

The architect subsequently desiring to construct the ceiling of the great hall of that palace in the manner which we call coved, Lorenzo was not to be persuaded that it was possible to do this, the extent of the space considered; whereupon Giuliano, who was at that time building a house of his own in Florence, constructed the ceiling of his hall as he desired to have that in the palace, when the illustrious Lorenzo, being thus convinced, immediately caused the hall of the Poggio to be vaulted in like manner, a work which was completed very successfully.[7]

The reputation of Giuliano constantly increased, and at the entreaty of the Duke of Calabria, Lorenzo gave him a commission to prepare the model for a palace,[8] which was to be erected in Naples; he spent a long time over this work, and was still occupied with it when the Castellan of Ostia, then Bishop of Rovere, and afterwards Pope Julius II., desiring to set the fortress of that place in order, and having

[6] Probably finished about 1485.

[7] According to Milanesi, IV., p. 271, note 2, the San Galli would seem to have bought their ground for this house only in 1490, that is to say after the accredited construction (1485) of Poggio-a-Cajano, for which Giuliano's, vaulted hall could not therefore have served as model.

[8] Among the designs of Giuliano in the Barberini Library is a ground plan of a palace dated 1488.

heard the fame of Giuliano, sent to Florence inviting him to repair to Ostia.[9] There the Castellan detained him two years, making him a very ample provision, and causing him to do everything which his art could accomplish for the improvement of the place.

But to the end that the model which he was preparing for the Duke of Calabria might not be neglected, but might be finished within reasonable time, Giuliano confided it to his brother Antonio, with directions for completing it; which Antonio accordingly did with great care, he being no less competent in the art than Giuliano himself. When this was done, Lorenzo the elder advised our architect to be the bearer of his own work to Naples, in order that he might point out the peculiarities of the construction, and the difficulties which had been overcome. Giuliano repaired to Naples accordingly, and having presented his model, was received very honourably, the courtly manner in which the magnificent Lorenzo had sent him, exciting much admiration, as did also the masterly construction of the model, which gave such entire satisfaction that the work was instantly commenced in the vicinity of the Castello Nuovo.

After Giuliano had remained for some time in Naples he requested permission from the Duke to return to Florence, when the king of Naples sent him a present consisting of horses, vestments, and a silver goblet, containing some hundreds of ducats; these last Giuliano would not accept, declaring that he served a master who had no need of gold nor silver, but that if the king desired to confer on him any gift or token of approbation, in sign of his having been in that city, he might bestow on him some of the antiquities in his possession, at his own choice. This the king most

[9] Padre Alberto Guglielmotti says in the *Atti dell' Accademia Archeologica Romana*, 1862, that Giuliano was the first to give in the citadel of Ostia (1483) an admirable example of modern fortification. Milanesi, IV., p. 272, note 2, shows that Sarzanella was not, as has been asserted, fortified by Giuliano but by il Francione and Luca del Caprina.

liberally granted, for the love he bore to the magnificent Lorenzo, and because of the admiration which that monarch felt for the talents of Giuliano himself: the gifts thus conferred being a head of the Emperor Adrian, now placed above the door of the garden belonging to the Medici palace, a nude female figure of colossal size, and a Sleeping Cupid in marble, executed in full relief. These Giuliano despatched to the magnificent Lorenzo, who received them with great delight, and could never sufficiently eulogize the liberal proceeding of the generous artist, who had refused gold and silver for the sake of art, which very few would have done. The Cupid is now in the guardaroba of Duke Cosimo.

Having then returned to Florence, Giuliano was most graciously received by the illustrious Lorenzo, who had at that time a new work in contemplation. He had determined namely to erect a convent capable of accommodating one hundred monks, at some little distance from the gate of San Gallo, in compliance with the wishes of a learned monk called Fra Mariano da Ghinazzano, who belonged to the Order of the Eremites of Sant' Agostino. For this work Lorenzo had caused models to be constructed by many architects, but finally commanded that one prepared by Giuliano should be put in execution.[10] From this work Lorenzo took occasion to name our artist Giuliano da San Gallo; wherefore the master, who gradually heard himself called by every one *da San Gallo*, said one day jestingly to the magnificent Lorenzo, "By this your new way of calling me da San Gallo, you are making me lose the name of mine ancient house, so that instead of going forward, as I thought to do by the antiquity of my race, I am going backwards." To which Lorenzo replied, that he would rather see him become the founder of a new house by the force of his talents than remain a dependant on any other; which reply caused Giuliano to content himself with the change.[11]

[10] In 1488.

[11] Apparently Giamberti had the name of San Gallo long before he built the convent, and acquired it simply from the fact that he lived just outside the

The buildings of San Gallo proceeded meanwhile, together with those of the other fabrics, placed in course of construction by Lorenzo; but neither the convent nor the other works were completed, the death of the illustrious Lorenzo causing them to remain unfinished. Even the portion of San Gallo that was erected did not remain long in existence, seeing that at the siege of Florence in 1530, the whole edifice was totally destroyed, together with the suburb in which it stood. The piazza of the latter was entirely surrounded by very beautiful buildings, whereas there is now not a vestige of house, church, or convent to be seen.[12]

The death of the king of Naples took place about this time, when Giuliano Gondi, a very rich Florentine merchant, returned to his native city, and then commissioned Giuliano da San Gallo, with whom he had become well acquainted during the sojourn of the latter at Naples, to build a palace in the Tuscan manner for his residence.[13] The position of this building was to be opposite to San Francesco,[14] above the place where the Lions stand; it would have formed the angle of the piazza, having one of its fronts towards the Mercatanzia, but the death of Giuliano Gondi put a stop to the work. For this palace, Giuliano da San Gallo executed a mantel-piece among other things, so richly decorated with rich carvings, so finely

San Gallo gate. The sacristy of Santo Spirito at Florence, for which Giuliano made the model in 1489, though it is not mentioned by Vasari, was one of the architect's most important works. It has been attributed to both Andrea da Monte Sansovino and il Cronaca.

[12] At this time of the siege, the Florentines sacrificed to the necessities of the defence the villas, churches, and houses outside the walls. They were so numerous that they constituted a second Florence, *extra muros*.

[13] The court, staircase, and chimney-piece of the Gondi Palace are fine; but the rustication of the exterior is poor and cold in effect, if compared with that of the Strozzi. "To appreciate the Strozzi Palace at its true value, one should study the Gondi, which is in some ways a sort of caricature of the former." See E. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 408. According to Vasari the date of this work would be about 1494. M. Müntz thinks that the palace may have been begun three or four years earlier. See *L'Age d'Or*, pp. 406.

[14] Now San Firenze.

varied in its different parts, and altogether so beautiful, that nothing equal to it, more especially as regarded the number of figures, had ever before been seen. The same architect built a palace for a Venetian, at a short distance from the Pinti Gate at Camerata, with numerous houses for private citizens, of which I need not make further mention.

Lorenzo the Magnificent, desiring to provide for the public utility and adornment of the state, as well as thereby to add another monument to the many wherewith he had already acquired so much renown, determined to undertake the fortification of the Poggio Imperiale, above Poggibonsi, on the road leading towards Rome. There he desired to found a city, but would not proceed without the advice and direction of Giuliano; wherefore, the commencement of that most renowned fabric was made by that master, and after his designs were constructed that well-arranged series of fortifications and those beautiful edifices which we now see there.[15]

These works so greatly increased the fame of the architect, that the Duke of Milan applied to Lorenzo, requesting him to send that master to the above-named city, where he desired to have the model of a palace prepared by him. Giuliano was despatched thither by Lorenzo accordingly, and was no less honoured by the Duke in Milan than he had been in Naples by the King. When the model was completed, the master presented it, on the part of the magnificent Lorenzo, to the Duke, who was filled with asastonishment and admiration, as he beheld the fine arrangement and commodious distribution of the different parts, and the rich decorations everywhere applied with the utmost propriety and judgment, each ornament beautiful in itself, and all appropriate to the place which they adorned.

The requisites for building were therefore immediately assembled, and they began at once to put the work in execution.

[15] Antonio da San Gallo succeeded Giuliano in the superintendence of these works.

Leonardo da Vinci was in Milan at the same time with Giuliano, and was also in the service of the Duke : there was then a question of the bronze Horse, to which we have more than once alluded, and Leonardo, frequently speaking of his intention in regard to it with Giuliano da San Gallo, received many valuable counsels from him on that subject. The model for the last-mentioned work was destroyed on the arrival of the French, and the horse was therefore not finished, neither could the palace designed by Giuliano be completed.

Having returned to Florence, Giuliano found that his brother Antonio, who had assisted him in the preparation of his models, had himself become a most excellent master ; there was indeed no artist of his time who executed carved work more perfectly than he did, large crucifixes in wood more especially. Of this we have a proof in that which is over the High Altar of the Nunziata in Florence,[16] as well as in one belonging to the monks of San Gallo at San Jacopo-tra-Fossi, and in another which the Brotherhood of the Barefooted Friars have in their possession,[17] all consider these to be truly excellent works. But on his return, Giuliano persuaded his brother to abandon that occupation, prevailing on him to devote his attention to architecture in company with himself, he having many labours in hand, for the public use as well as for private individuals. But it happened in this case, as it so frequently has done in others, that Fortune, the adversary of talent, deprived the artists of that period of their best hope and support by the death of Lorenzo de' Medici,[18] which was a grievous loss, not to his native city only, but to all Italy.

Giuliano, overwhelmed, as was every other man of genius by this event, remained for a long time inconsolable. In deep grief he retired to Prato, which is near Florence, and

[16] Now in a tabernacle which is near the Chapel of the Madonna in the Annunziata. It was carved by Giuliano and Antonio together in 1482.

[17] The Sant' Jacopo Crucifix is in the Annunziata (chapel of the painters) ; that of the Barefooted Friars has disappeared.

[18] In 1492.

where he occupied himself with the construction of a church to the Madonna delle Carceri,[19] all buildings in Florence, whether public or private, being for the moment at a stand. In Prato, therefore, Giuliano remained three years, enduring his grief and cares as he best might. At the end of that time the church of the Madonna at Loretto requiring to be roofed, and the Cupola, which Giuliano da Maiano had commenced but had not completed, having to be vaulted, the wardens, who had charge of the work, became apprehensive lest the piers should be found incapable of supporting the weight of the vast erection to be reared on them. They consequently wrote to Giuliano to the effect that, if he were disposed to undertake that work, he might come and examine the state of things; the architect proceeded to Loretto accordingly, when, competent and bold as he was, he declared that the Cupola might be raised without difficulty, expressing his confidence in his own power to effect the task, and proving the truth of his assertions by so many good reasons, that the work was at once confided to his care. Having received this commission, Giuliano hastened the completion of the church at Prato, and, taking with him the master-builders and stone-cutters who had laboured under his orders at that place, he departed to Loretto.

The fabric Giuliano was now to erect demanding the utmost precaution, to secure it the requisite firmness and durability, as well as beauty of form, the architect sent to Rome for puzzolana ; all the lime used for the building was then tempered therewith, and for every stone laid therein the mortar was thus prepared ; at the end of three years the edifice was given up to the wardens completed and freed from all encumbrance.[20]

[19] The commission for the Madonna delle Carceri was given him in 1485, and he finished his work upon the church in 1491, *before* the death of Lorenzo. Giuliano (and not Antonio, as Vasari has elsewhere stated) gave the design (1508) for the high altar of this church.—Milanesi, IV., p. 277, note 3.

[20] A note-book of Giuliano preserved in the Communal Library of Siena shows that the Cupola of S. M. di Loreto was finished in 1500.

Giuliano then repaired to Rome, where he received a commission from Pope Alexander VI. to restore the roof of Santa Maria Maggiore, which was in a state of ruin ; he also constructed the ceiling in wood-work, still to be seen in that church.[21] While thus employed for the court, the Bishop of Rovere,[22] who was then Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, and who had been the friend of Giuliano from the time when he was Castellan of Ostia, confided to him the preparation of a model for the Palace of San Pietro in Vincoli,[23] aforesaid ; and no long time after, desiring to erect a palace in his native city of Savona also, he determined to have that likewise constructed according to the designs and under the direction of Giuliano. But this was not easy of arrangement, seeing that the roof of Santa Maria Maggiore was not yet finished, and Pope Alexander would not suffer the architect to leave Rome. Finally, however, Giuliano caused the works of Santa Maria to be continued by his brother Antonio, by whom they were completed ; and the latter, possessing a lively and versatile genius, being thus brought into connexion with the court, afterwards entered the service of Pope Alexander : he was indeed ultimately regarded with very great favour by that pontiff, and received proof of this when his Holiness determined on restoring the tomb of Adrian (now called the Castello Sant' Angelo), and erecting defences around it, after the manner of a fortress, Antonio being appointed superintendent of the works.[24] Under his direction, therefore, the large towers of the lower end, with the ditches and other fortifications, such as we now see them, were constructed ; this work obtained Antonio great credit with the Pope, as well as with the Duke Valentino his son, and caused him to receive a commission for constructing the fortress, erected as we now see it, at

[21] Masselli says that the gold with which this ceiling was decorated was the first ever brought from America.

[22] Afterwards Pope Julius II.

[23] The palace is the building on the north side of the church.

[24] The constructions dated from 1492. The fortress has since been greatly altered.

Civita Castellana, and which he also built.[25] While that Pontiff lived, in short, Antonio was continually employed in building and other labours for his service, and was no less richly rewarded by Pope Alexander than highly esteemed.

The palace at Savona,[26] had meanwhile been carried forward by Giuliano, and was proceeding very successfully, when the Cardinal, for some of his purposes, returned to Rome ; he left numerous workmen at Savona with orders to complete the work after the designs of Giuliano, but the architect himself, Cardinal San Pietro took with him to Rome. Very willingly did Giuliano undertake that journey, desiring much to see his brother Antonio, and the works he was executing. Here then he remained several months, but the Cardinal fell into disgrace with the Pope at that time, and left Rome to avoid being imprisoned, when Giuliano also departed in his company.[27]

Thus returned to Savona, they greatly increased the number of master-masons and artificers of all kinds employed about the building, but the menaces of his Holiness against the Cardinal becoming more and more violent, no long time elapsed before the latter saw himself compelled to take refuge in Avignon. Having arrived there, he sent the model of a palace, which Giuliano had prepared for himself, as a present to the King of France ; this work was one of extraordinary beauty, the edifice being most richly adorned, and of such extent, that it was capable of accommodating,

[25] In the Uffizi there is a drawing by Antonio of a Doric court at Civita Castellana and a sketch of the citadel as it was before he altered it.—Milanesi, IV., p. 279, note 3.

[26] Afterwards the Monastery of Santa Chiara.

[27] Between the years 1492 and 1497 Milanesi records nothing in his *Prospetto Cronologico* of Giuliano. It was during a part of this time that Cardinal della Rovere, having quarrelled with the reigning Pope, found it prudent to withdraw to France. In 1494 we again hear of him (the Cardinal) as at Rome. M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 407, cites a document in the Barberini Library, which is Giuliano's own description of his travels in 1496 in southern France. His journey included visits to Avignon, Arles, Tarascon, Salon, Aix, Saint Maximin, Brignoles, Draguignan and Grasse.

not the king only, but his whole court. The French monarch was at Lyons when Giuliano presented his model, which was most graciously accepted by his majesty, and pleased him so much that he rewarded the architect very largely, and gave him infinite commendation. He also caused many thanks to be returned to the Cardinal, who was at Avignon. There the latter received intelligence to the effect that his palace at Savona was approaching its completion; whereupon he resolved that Giuliano should once more examine the whole edifice: he repaired to Savona accordingly, and, after having remained there some short time, beheld his work brought to completion.

Giuliano was then seized with a wish to return to Florence, which he had not seen for a long time; he set out on his way therefore, taking with him the master-builders who had been working under his directions at Savona. Now, the King of France had at that time restored the freedom of its government to the City of Pisa, and the war between the Florentines and the Pisans was still raging; but Giuliano desired to pass across the territory of Pisa, wherefore he caused a safe conduct to be prepared for him at Lucca, having no small suspicion of the Pisan soldiers. Notwithstanding that precaution, however, as they were passing near Altopascio, the whole company were made prisoners by the Pisans,[28] who cared nothing at all for their safe conduct, or any other causes of exemption that could be alleged. For six months, therefore, was Giuliano compelled to remain in Pisa, his ransom being set at three hundred ducats; nor was he permitted to return to Florence until that sum was paid.

Antonio, who was then in Rome, having heard of these things, and feeling anxious to see his brother and his native city once again,[29] obtained permission of the Pope to leave

[28] He was taken near the Castello of Monte Carlo in 1497. Letters which passed between the Balia of Florence and the Commune of Lucca referring to the incident of the capture are published in Gaye, *Carteggio inedito*, I., p. 338.

[29] Antonio did not return till nearly six years after the capture and libera-

Rome; in his way he designed the fortress of Montefiascone[30] for the Duke Valentino, and in the year 1503, he at length returned to Florence, where the brothers were reunited, to the great joy of their friends as well as of themselves.

At this time occurred the death of Pope Alexander VI. and the accession of Pius III., but the latter lived only a short time, and the cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli was then elected to the pontifical throne, taking the name of Julius II. This event caused the utmost gladness to Giuliano, he having been so long in his service, and he resolved on proceeding to Rome, there to kiss the feet of his Holiness.[31] Having arrived there accordingly, he was received very gladly, and with many kind words by the Pope, who immediately appointed him superintendent of the first buildings undertaken by that Pontiff before the arrival of Bramante.

Antonio meanwhile remained in Florence, where Pier Soderini was at that time Gonfaloniere, and, Giuliano being absent, the construction of the buildings at Poggio Imperiale[32] was continued, under his directions;[33] all the Pisan prisoners being sent to labour there, to the end that the fabric might be thus the more rapidly brought to completion. The old fortress in the city of Arezzo had at this time been destroyed;[34] wherefore Antonio prepared the model for the new one, with the consent of Giuliano, who came on account of business connected with that matter from Rome, but very soon returned thither. This work of the fortress of Arezzo caused Antonio to be chosen architect to the commune of Florence, by which he was appointed superintendent over all the fortifications of the state.

tion of Giuliano, and Milanesi has noted that the desire to see his brother and his native country was evidently not great enough to cause undue haste!

[30] Now destroyed.

[31] He returned to Rome shortly after the beginning of 1504.

[32] Antonio da San Gallo was elected master of the works of Firenzuola and Poggio Imperiale, May 8, 1497.

[33] In 1511.

[34] It was destroyed on the occasion of the revolt of Arezzo.

On the return of Giuliano to Rome, the question as to whether the sepulchral monument of Pope Julius should be constructed by the divine Michael Angelo Buonarroti, was in debate ; when Giuliano encouraged the pontiff to that undertaking : he even declared that for such a purpose it would be proper to erect a chapel specifically appropriated to the exclusive reception thereof, and not place the tomb in the old church of San Pietro, wherein there was indeed no longer space for it ; whereas the chapel which he recommended would render the work perfect. Numerous artists having then made designs, the question became a subject of so much consideration, that by little and little they arrived at the determination not to construct a chapel only, but to commence the vast fabric of the new San Pietro.

At that time, the architect Bramante of Castel Durante arrived in Rome,[35] after having been for some time in Lombardy, when this master had so many proposals to make, and exhibited such extraordinary resources, some of his plans being indeed altogether out of the usual practice, that having won over Baldassare Peruzzi and Raffaello da Urbino to his opinions, he changed the whole character of the work. Much time was then consumed in discussion, but the effect of Bramante's proceedings and the force of his representations, ultimately caused the building to be committed to his care, he having shown a more profound judgment, superior intelligence, and richer powers of invention than any of the other masters.

This decision caused the utmost displeasure to Giuliano, and the rather as he considered himself to be ill-treated by the Pope, whom he had served so faithfully when Julius was in a less exalted position :[36] he had besides received a promise from the Pontiff to the effect that the fabric should

[35] See the life of Bramante.

[36] Giuliano was also the only living architect who had already taken part in the works of the basilica of St. Peter under Paul II., the predecessor of Sixtus IV. See note 3.

be entrusted to himself. He consequently requested his dismissal. Nor did the fact that he was appointed the associate of Bramante, for other works, then to be executed in Rome, avail to change his purpose: he departed accordingly, after having received many gifts from the Pope, and once more returned to Florence.[37]

His arrival in his native city was exceedingly welcome to Piero Soderini, who instantly availed himself of his services. Nor had six months elapsed from his leaving Rome before he received a letter from Messer Bartolommeo della Rovere, nephew of the Pope, and a gossip of his own, who wrote, in the name of his Holiness, urging him, with many assurances of future advantage, to return to the papal court. But it was not possible to move Giuliano, either by the conditions offered or promises made, because he considered himself to have received an affront from the Pontiff: a letter was then despatched to Piero Soderini, exhorting him to use every method in his power, and by all means, to send Giuliano to Rome. His Holiness desired to complete the fortification of the great round tower which had been commenced by Nicholas V. as well as those of the Borgo and the Belvedere, with many other works, for all which he required the services of the Florentine architect. Giuliano suffered himself therefore to be at length persuaded by Soderini, and again proceeded to Rome, where he was received by Pope Julius with exceeding cordiality and many gifts.

Now it was about this time that the Bentivogli were driven out of Bologna, and the Pontiff thereupon repaired to that city. While there, he resolved, by the advice of Giuliano, who had accompanied him thither,[38] to have a statue

[37] In May, 1506, he still bore the title of Papal architect, and in all probability he returned to his native city in the same year. See M. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 409.

[38] Milanesi proves by documents that Giuliano had returned to Florence in 1507, and could not have left there before March, 1512; he therefore does not believe that the architect accompanied Pope Julius to Bologna and Mirandola.

erected (representing the Pope himself), and which should be executed in bronze, by Michelagnolo Buonarroti; this was accordingly done, as will be related in the life of Michelagnolo. In like manner Giuliano accompanied the Pope to Mirandola and when that place was taken he returned with Julius to Rome, after having endured much anxiety and many cares.

The raging desire to drive the French out of Italy, not having yet got out of the head of Pope Julius, he made various attempts to wrest the government of Florence from the hands of Piero Soderini, seeing that the Gonfaloniere was no small impediment to his accomplishing what he had in his mind. By these projects the Pontiff was much diverted from his architectural undertakings. He was indeed almost entirely absorbed in his warlike affairs, and Giuliano, seeing, as he did, that no building received any attention, the church of San Pietro excepted, and even that obtained but very little; seeing all this, I say, Giuliano became weary, and determined on requesting his dismissal. But the Pope replied in great anger: "Do you think that there is no other Giuliano da San Gallo in the world besides yourself?" Whereunto Giuliano made answer to the effect that, for truth and faithful service never would he find another equal to himself, whereas it would be easy for him to find princes who would maintain their promises with more fidelity than the Pope had shown towards him. Julius would nevertheless not give him leave to go, but said that he would talk to him about it at some other time.

Bramante meanwhile having brought Raffaello da Urbino to Rome, set him to work on the paintings of the pontifical apartments, whereupon Giuliano, perceiving that those pictures gave the Pope much pleasure, and that he desired to have the ceiling of the chapel, built by his uncle Sixtus, also decorated with paintings, then spoke to his Holiness of Michelagnolo, reminding him that the latter had already executed the statue of bronze in Bologna, wherewith the

Pontiff had been very much pleased.[39] Michelagnolo was therefore summoned to Rome, and having arrived in that city, the ceiling of the chapel was confided to him accordingly.

Some short time after these things, Giuliano again requested permission to depart, and his Holiness, seeing that he was resolved on doing so, suffered him to return to Florence amicably, and retaining all his favour : after having conferred his benediction, Julius finally presented him with a purse of scarlet satin containing five hundred ducats, telling him that he might return home to take repose, but that he would always remain his friend. Having then kissed the sacred foot, Giuliano departed to Florence, where he arrived exactly at the time when Pisa was surrounded and besieged by the Florentine army.[40] He had no sooner entered the city therefore, than he was despatched by Piero Soderini—after the due ceremonies of reception—to the camp ; where the commissaries found themselves unable to devise any effectual method for preventing the Pisans from supplying their beleaguered city with provisions, by means of the Arno. Giuliano, after due examination, declared that when the season should be more favourable, a bridge of boats must be constructed, he then returned to Florence. But when the spring was come, he took with him Antonio his brother, and again repaired to Pisa, where they made a bridge of boats, which was a work of much ingenuity ; for besides that this fabric could be removed at pleasure, the power of rising or sinking, within fixed limits, which it derived from its form, secured the structure to a

[39] For the famous rivalry between the Bramante and San Gallo factions regarding the painting of the Sistine Chapel, see the lives of Raphael and Michelangelo.

[40] Giuliano was master architect of Florence from 1500 to 1503. In 1500 he went to fortify Borgo San Sepolcro ; in May of the next year he had the convoying of certain artillery for the king of France, and in 1502–03 was twice in Arezzo and again in Borgo San Sepolcro. His brother Antonio succeeded him as master architect and engineer of the Florentines during the last months of the siege of Pisa. Milanesi, V., p. 285, note 1, quotes largely from Gaye's *Carteggio*.

certain extent, against injury from floods, while it nevertheless remained perfectly firm, being well chained and fastened together through all its parts. The impediment to supplies by means of the river, so much desired by the commissaries, was also effectually presented by this bridge, the city being thereby cut off from all aid by sea and up the Arno; insomuch that the Pisans, having no longer any help in their distress, were compelled to make conditions with the Florentines and surrendered accordingly.

Nor did any long time elapse before Giuliano was again despatched to Pisa by the same Piero Soderini,[41] together with an almost innumerable company of builders, when they constructed, with extraordinary celerity, the fortress which is at the gate of San Marco, with that gate itself, which was erected in the Doric order. While Giuliano was busied with this undertaking, which occupied him until the year 1512, Antonio travelled throughout the whole state, inspecting all the fortresses and public buildings of the Florentine territories, and putting all into good and serviceable order.

By the favour and assistance of Pope Julius, the House of Medici was subsequently reinstated in the government of Florence, from which that family had been expelled on the incursion made into Italy by Charles VIII., king of France. Piero Soderini was then compelled to abandon the palace, but the Medici did not fail to acknowledge the services which Giuliano and Antonio had rendered in earlier times to their illustrious house, and when, on the death of Pope Julius, Giovanni, cardinal de' Medici, ascended the papal throne, Giuliano was induced once again to visit Rome.

No long time after the arrival of the latter in that city, the architect Bramante died, when the Pope resolved to entrust the building of San Pietro to Giuliano;[42] but worn by

[41] Giuliano seems to have been sent to Pisa in 1509; we hear of him as making the model for the gate of San Marco 1510, and the bridge of La Spina 1511. In March, 1512, he was still in Pisa.

[42] Giuliano was appointed chief architect of St. Peter's January 1, 1514, while

his many labours, oppressed by the weight of years, and suffering cruel torments from internal disease, the Florentine architect declined that charge,[43] which was then made over to the most * graceful Raffaello da Urbino,[44] and Giuliano returned by permission of his Holiness, to Florence.[45] Two years later Giuliano da San Gallo, grievously oppressed by the force of his malady, also died at the age of seventy-four, and in the year 1517,[46] leaving his name to the world, his body to the earth, and his soul to God, who gave it.

The departure of Giuliano, left his brother Antonio, who loved him tenderly, in the deepest grief, as it also did a son named Francesco; the latter already engaged in the study of sculpture, although he was then very young.[47] This Francesco has carefully preserved all the remains of art bequeathed to him by his forerunners, and holds them in the utmost veneration. Many works in sculpture and architecture have been executed by him in Florence and other places; among them is the Madonna in the church of Orsanmichele. The Virgin has the Divine Child on her

Bramante (who died March 11th of the same year) was still living. Milanesi, IV., p. 286, note 2.

[43] At the very end of his life Giuliano re-entered the arena with a study for a *façade* of San Lorenzo, in which he showed conspicuously the influence of Michelangelo. His designs are very rich and covered with sculpture; but "these silhouettes, so bold in appearance, hide a certain organic poverty and a lack of classical purity; in which respects they greatly differ from the creations of Bramante."—E. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*. Six designs for San Lorenzo are in the Uffizi. Herr Redtenbacher, *op. cit.*, has reproduced some of them.

* Here as elsewhere *grazioso* should be translated gracious, not graceful.

[44] Associated with the architect Fra Giocondo, who held office from February, 1514, to March, 1518. Raphael received his appointment in April, 1514, and in August of the same year, after having presented his model, he appears to have been appointed first architect, and thus placed over his associate in the work. See Mrs. Foster's citation from Fea's *Notizie* and Bunsen and Platner's *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*.

[45] According to documents extracted by Fea from the books of the works at St. Peter's, Giuliano retained his appointment about a year and a half—to July 1, 1515, namely.—Mrs. Foster's notes.

[46] He died in Florence, October 20, 1516. There is a portrait of him in the Museum of The Hague, said by Dr. Frizzoni to be by Piero di Cosimo.

[47] He was twenty-three years old.

arm, which is resting in the lap of Sant' Anna ; all the figures are in full relief, and the group, which is formed from one piece of marble, is considered a fine work.[48] The sepulchral monument which Pope Clement caused to be constructed at Monte Cassino, to the memory of Piero de Medici,[49] is also by this sculptor, as are other works, of which I do not make further mention, because Francesco is still living.

After the death of Giuliano, his brother Antonio, who was not willing to remain wholly inactive, executed two large Crucifixes in wood, one of which was sent to Spain, and the other, by command of the vice-chancellor, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, was taken by Domenico Buoninsegni into France. At a later period the building of the fortress of Leghorn[50] having been determined on, Antonio was sent to that city by the Cardinal de' Medici, with a commission to prepare designs for the structure, which the latter effected accordingly ; but the work was not executed to the extent proposed by Antonio, nor was it constructed entirely after the designs he had prepared.

Many miracles having been performed by an image of Our Lady in possession of the inhabitants of Montepulciano, these last resolved to erect a church to her honour at very great cost, Antonio was consequently instructed to prepare the model, and became the superintendent of the building ; he therefore repaired to Montepulciano twice in the year, for the purpose of inspecting the progress of that fabric, which we now see completed to the utmost perfection.[51] It is indeed a most beautiful and richly varied composition, and is executed by the genius of Antonio with infinite grace ; the whole edifice is constructed of a stone which resembles that called travertine in the whiteish tint

[48] Still existing in Or San Michele.

[49] Finished in 1558.

[50] Antonio made the designs for this citadel of Leghorn in March, 1506. Milanesi, IV., p. 288, note 2.

[51] This is the famous church of San Biagio fuori Montepulciano, the construction of which is said to have taken from 1518 to 1537.

of its colour : it is situated at a short distance beyond the gate of San Biagio, on the right hand, nearly midway up the hill. About the same time this architect commenced a palace [52] in the fortress of Monte Sansovino for Antonio di Monte, Cardinal of Santa Praxida ; he also constructed another for the same prelate, in Montepulciano, a work designed and completed with admirable grace.[53]

In Florence Antonio erected a range of houses for the Servite monks, on the Piazza of their monastery ; the style of the building resembling that of the Loggia degl' Innocenti.[54] In Arezzo he prepared models for the aisles of the church of Our Lady of Tears ; but this was a very ill-conducted work, because entirely destitute of harmony with the earlier portions of the edifice, and the arches of the upper part are not placed in due relation to the centre. Antonio likewise made a model for the church of the Madonna in Cortona ; but I do not believe that this has ever been put into execution.[55] During the siege of Florence, this master was employed on the bastions and fortifications within the city, when his nephew Francesco was appointed to act as his assistant.[56]

The Giant of the Piazza,[57] which had been executed by the hand of Michelagnolo, during the life-time of Giuliano, the brother of Antonio, being fixed in its place, the rulers resolved that the other,[58] made by Baccio Bandinelli, should be also erected on the Piazza. The care of conducting it thither in safety was trusted to Antonio, and he, in taking

[52] Now the Pretorio.

[53] This palace, opposite the cathedral, though praised by Vasari, is thought by Gaye to be one of Antonio's poorest works.

[54] They were built in 1517. Bacciò d'Agnolo was associated with Antonio in their construction.

[55] It was not put into execution, for this well-known church of the Calcinajo was designed by Francesco di Giorgio of Siena. See Milanesi, IV., p. 289, quoting Father Gregorio Pinucci's historical studies upon the church, and Professor G. del Rosso in his *Lettere Antellane.*

[56] Francesco, in 1529, was head-master of the fortifications of the city.

[57] The colossal statue of David.

[58] The Hercules and Cacus.

Baccio d'Agnolo to assist him, by the use of very powerful machinery, effected the removal of the statue without injury, placing it safely on the pedestal which had been prepared to receive it.

When Antonio had become old, he took pleasure in no other occupation than that of agriculture, which he understood perfectly well. Finally, being rendered by the weight of his years unable to support any longer the cares of this world, he resigned his soul to God in the year 1534, and was laid to his repose, together with his brother Giuliano, in the burial place of the Giamberti family, which is in the church of Santa Maria Novella.[59]

The admirable works of these two brothers will supply to the world sufficient proof of the fine genius wherewith they were endowed, while their blameless life and honourable conduct in every action caused them to be held in esteem by the whole city, and by all who knew them.[60] Giuliano and Antonio bequeathed to architecture the inheritance of better methods in the Tuscan manner of building, with more beautiful forms than had previously been in use; they added finer proportion, and more exact measurement to the Doric order than had ever before, according to the opinion and rule of Vitruvius, been attained.

[59] He died December 27, 1534, aged seventy-nine years.

[60] Antonio da San Gallo the younger (1485–1546), and nephew of Giuliano, was almost as celebrated as his uncle. Vasari gave his cognomen as Picconi, but later criticism (see Milanesi and Müntz) has pronounced in favor of the name of Coriolani, Condiani or Cordiani. His principal achievement is the building of two stories of the magnificent Farnese Palace, "the masterpiece of the Roman Renaissance." His project for St. Peter's was so full of detail and of multiplied parts, and so lacking in what the Tuscans considered to be grandeur of style, that his contemporaries reproached him with having followed rather the Gothic than the classical manner (see Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 335). Antonio, like his uncle, was omnipresent as builder, engineer, and restorer, fortifying in Florence and in Ancona, enlarging the Vatican in Rome, restoring the cupola of Loretto, making the great well of Orvieto, at almost one and the same time. Milanesi in his commentary gives a very long list of his drawings in the Uffizi. Antonio was a worthy representative of his famous family, but like most of those who worked contemporaneously with Michelangelo he has been overshadowed by the more famous name and the greater talent.

In their houses in Florence, these masters had collected a large number of beautiful antiquities in marble—treasures, which contributed, and still contribute, to adorn their native city, while they also do honour to the artists themselves, and redound to the glory of art. Giuliano brought from Rome the method of constructing vaulted ceilings, in materials which permit the carvings and other decorations to be executed in one piece :[61] of this we have an example in an apartment of his own house, and at Poggio-a-Cajano, the ceiling of the Great Hall, still to be seen there, is constructed after this manner. Large is the debt of gratitude due to these artists, by whose labours the Florentine state has been fortified, while the city itself has received great increase of beauty from their endeavours.[62] By the works

[61] This was probably an invention of Bramante ; see his Life.

[62] After Brunelleschi, Alberti, and Bramante, no Florentine architect of the fifteenth century is more noted than Giuliano da San Gallo. Nevertheless, he has not left any building so famous as the Strozzi Palace of Benedetto, the Medici Palace of Michelozzo, or the Rucellai Palace of Rossellino (if it be by him, as is now presumed, and not by Alberti). Some of his churches are admirable ; his sacristy of the Santo Spirito is well known, but on the whole his celebrity comes rather from the volume and variety of his work than from any single masterpiece, and is enhanced by the fact that an entire generation of the Giamberti contributed to the family fame. The San Galli were a whole dynasty of architect-engineers and architect-sculptors, handing down the art from father to son, and sharing it between brother and brother, cousin and cousin. Besides Giuliano and Antonio the elder, there were Antonio the younger, their almost equally famous nephew, as well as two other nephews, the architect Giovan Francesco (1482–1530) and the painter Bastiano, called Aristotile da San Gallo. Giuliano's biography is a particularly entertaining one, both because a *protégé* of the Medici was always a congenial subject to Vasari, writing as he did under the eye of Duke Cosimo, and because San Gallo was a capital type of the Jack-at-all-trades in art, the many-sided Renaissance craftsman. He could build a palace, then repair a church (and if he was less great than Bramante, he seems to have built more solidly) ; next we meet him convoying artillery, building bridges, a servant of popes, dukes, and republics, and fortifying for all of them alike. Again we see him, notebook in hand, a tourist in southern France, and hear of him in remote Italian cities which few architects had visited. Later he is a prisoner, held at ransom ; and then, turning the tables upon the Pisans, and their river Arno from its course, he captures his captors. He belonged distinctly to the Medicean group of artists, was ambassador for Lorenzo the Magnificent, and guardian to the future Pope Clement VII. ; but he became also the *protégé* of the della

of these brothers, performed in so many parts of Italy, the Florentine name has moreover received a great accession of honour, to the lasting glory of the Tuscan genius, which, to their revered memory, hath dedicated the following verses :—

> " *Cedite Romani structores, cedite Graii*
> *Artis, Vitruvi, tu quoque cede parens.*
> *Etruscos celebrare viros ; testudinis arcus,*
> *Urna, tholus, statuæ, templa, domusque petunt.*"

Rovere, and in the last years of his life enjoyed the brilliant, if somewhat (in his case) empty, title of Master Architect of St. Peter's. He was contemporaneous with the greatest years of the Renaissance, for he was born before the last stone was laid upon Brunelleschi's dome, and he lived till after Raphael had painted the *Stanze* of the Vatican ; lived active, honored, and consulted by all, and died the founder of a brilliant succession of artists.

RAPHAEL OF URBINO, PAINTER AND ARCHITECT.

[Born 1483; died 1520.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—The bibliography of Raphael, like that of Leonardo, or of Michelangelo, includes a whole literature. Messrs. Passavant, Anton Springer, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Eugene Müntz, and F. A. Gruyer, are notable among the historians of this painter. The fine volume by Müntz is admirable not only for the artistic treatment of the theme by a scholar famous as a general historian of the Renaissance and as an indefatigable publisher of original documents, but also for its great number of excellent reproductions. The work of Crowe and Cavalcaselle is invaluable for its erudition, the mass of notes containing minute descriptions of the various pictures in their present condition, and of the preparatory studies for the pictures. Herr Springer's book is remarkable for the solidity of its views and the impartiality of its judgments. M. Gruyer's copious writings in many volumes upon Raphael as portrait-painter, as *frescante*, upon his relation to antiquity, and his mythological subjects, upon the Madonnas, etc., are the works of a man in love with his subject and who cites or quotes endless documents. Passavant, once the most famous of Raphael's biographers, has been somewhat superseded, and is principally valuable for his elaborate catalogue of the works of the master. Morelli, in his Italian Masters in German Galleries and his Italian Painters, has devoted much of his new and enlightened criticism to Raphael, especially the young Raphael. An enormous amount of periodical literature has been accorded to the great master of Urbino, including the results of researches by Signori Rossi, Gnoli, and many other scholars, especially among the Italians, but Vasari's life has been the model from which all the other writers have studied, and the Aretine author has given not only the first, but the most living presentation of the historic Raphael.

Those who desire an exhaustive Bibliography (up to 1883) of Raphael, will find it in the admirable work by Eugène Müntz, *Les Historiens et les critiques de Raphael*, 1483-1883. Essai *Bibliographique pour servir d'appendice a l'ouvrage de Passavant*, Paris, 1883. It is at once a catalogue and a history. The oldest life of Raphael is that of Paolo Giovio, written in Latin. It was first published by Tiraboschi in his *Storia della letteratura Italiana*, and is given in the appendix to Passavant's work.

With Rumohr, and more especially with Passavant, begins the list of modern and better-known works, many of them by authors famous in art criticism and archæology. Among these books are: C. F. von Rumohr, *Ueber Ra-*

phael und sein Verhältniss zu den Zeitgenossen, Berlin and Stettin, 1831. J. D. Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi*, Leipsic, 1839. There is a better French edition, *Raphael d'Urbin et son père Giovanni Santi*, Paris, 1860. The catalogue of Raphael's works in the second volume is of great value; *Raffaello Santi d'Urbino ed il suo padre Giovanni Santi; opera tradotta*, etc., by C. Guasti, Florence, 1891, is the Italian edition; English ed., London, 1872. C. Clément, *Michel Ange, Leonard de Vinci, Raphael*, Paris, 1861; English edition, 1880; German edition, 1870. G. Campori, *Racconti Artistici Italiani*, Florence, 1851–52. F. A. Gruyer, *Les fresques de Raphael*, Paris, 1859 G. Campori, *Notizie inedite di Raffaello da Urbino*, Modena, 1863. A. F. Rio, *Michel-Ange et Raphael*, Paris, 1867. F. A. Gruyer, *Raphael et l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1861. A. von Wolzogen, *Raphael Santi, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipsic, 1865; English edition, London, 1866. E Förster, *Raphael*, Leipsic, 1867. F. A. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphael*, Paris, 1869. J. C. Robinson, A Critical Account of the Drawings by Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the University Galleries, Oxford, 1870. H. Grimm, *Das Leben Raphael's von Urbino*, 1872. F. A. Gruyer, *Les portraits de Raphael par lui-même*, Paris, 1876. A. Springer, *Rafael und Michelangelo*, Leipsic, 1878. C. C. Perkins, Raphael and Michelangelo, Boston, 1878. E. Müntz, *Raphaël, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps*, Paris, 1881; English ed. by W. Armstrong. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Life and Works of Raphael, London, 1882; Italian ed., Florence. F. A. Gruyer, *Raphael peintre de portraits*, Paris, 1881. E. Müntz, *Une rivalité d'Artistes, Michel-Ange et Raphael à la Cour de Rome*, Paris, 1882. J. H. Middleton, Raphael, Encyc. Britannica. H. von Geymüller, *Raffaello come architetto*, Milan, 1883. E. Müntz, *Les historiens et les critiques de Raphael*, 1483–1883, Paris, 1884. Marco Minghetti, *I maestri di Raffaello*, Bologna, 1881; English translation by Louis Fagan, London. A. Schmarsow, *Raphael und Pinturicchio in Siena*, Stuttgardt. H. Grimm, Life of Raphael, Boston, 1888 (translation by Sarah H. Adams). J. Riepenhausen, *Das Leben Raphaels von Urbino gezeichnet und gestochen von J. R., mit erläuterndem Text*, Dr. R. Dohme, Berlin, 1888. C. Clément, *Michel-Ange, L. de Vinci, Raphael*, Paris. C. von Lützow, *Raffael's Bildungs- und Entwickelungs-gang*, Vienna, 1891. J. Cartwright (Mrs. Henry Ady), Raphael, London, 1895. H. Knackfusz, *Raffael*, Leipsic, 1895.

The following articles from various periodicals are all from authors of established reputation as critics: H. Hettner, *Raffael und die Anfänge der deutschen Reformation—Lützow, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Vol. IV., pp. 153, 187, Leipsic, 1869. See also Hettner's *Italienische Studien*. A. Springer, *Raphaelstudien—Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Vol. VIII., p. 65, Leipsic, 1873. H. Grimm, *Raphael's Ruhm in vier Jahrhunderten*, from the *Deutsche Rundschau*, November and December, 1884, Berlin, 1884. Recent Criticism on Raphael, article by Dr. J. P. Richter in The Nineteenth Century, Vol. XX., p. 343. Domenico Gnoli, *La Casa di Raffaello*, in the *Nuova Antologia*, 1887, *fasc.* XI. *La case e lo stemma di Raffaello*, by Adamo Rossi, with long note to same by Domenico Gnoli, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte* for 1888. D. Gnoli, *Raffaello alla Corte di Leone X.*, Rome, 1888. D. Gnoli, *La Cappella di Fra Mariano del Piombo in Roma*, article in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., pp. 117–126. Von Pulszky, *Beiträge zu Raphael's Studien der*

Antike, Leipsic, 1877. *Il Gruppo del Laocoonte e Raffaello*, article by A. Venturi in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II., pp. 97–112. E. Müntz, *Raphael Archéologue et Historien d'Art*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2d Series, Vol. XXII., p. 307, Paris, 1880. *Gli Allievi di Raffaello durante il Pontificato di Clemente VII.*, article by E. Müntz in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., p. 447. E. Müntz, *Les Maisons de Raphael à Rome d'après des documents inédits ou peu connus*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2d Series, Vol. XXI., p. 353, Paris, 1880. E. Müntz, *Les bordures des Tapisseries de Raphael* in *L'Art*, 1890, p. 3. Franz Wickhoff, *Die Bibliothek Julius II.*, Vol. XIV. of the *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen. Documenti inediti relativi a Raffaello d' Urbino*, by D. Gnoli, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II., pp. 248–251. G. Campori, *Faits et Documents pour servir à l' Histoire de Giovanni et Raphael Santi d' Urbino tirés des Archives de Mantoue*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2d Series, Vol. VI., p. 353, Paris, 1872. G. Campori, *Documents inédits sur Raphael tirés des Archives Palatines de Modène*, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Vol. XIV., p. 347, Paris, 1863.

The following books or articles are arranged rather according to subject than to date. E. Müntz, *Les dessins de la jeunesse de Raphaël*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2d Series, Vol. XXXII., pp. 185, 337, Paris, 1885. (See also for the drawings of the youthful Raphael long passages in Morelli's Italian Masters in German Galleries.) E. L. Chevignard, *Un Dessin du Musée du Louvre*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2d Series, Vol. XV., p. 475. For J. C. Robinson's essay on the drawings at Oxford see the first part of this bibliography. C. Ruland (editor), The Works of Raphael in the Royal Library at Windsor, 1876. C. Ruland, Notes on the Cartoons of Raphael, now in the South Kensington Museum; also on Raphael's other Works, London, 1865. R. H. Smith, Exposition of the Cartoons of Raphael, 1860. G. F. Waagen, *Die Cartons von Raphael*, Berlin, 1860. W. Koopmann, *Einige wenige bekannte Handzeichnungen Raffaels* in the *Jahrbuch der Kön. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, 1891, *Heft* 1. W. Koopmann, *Raffael-Studien*, *mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Handzeichnungen des Meisters*, Marburg, 1890.

The following refer to especial periods in the life of the painter or else to special works: W. von Seidlitz, *Raphael's Jugendwerke; zugleich eine Antwort an Herrn Dr. W. Koopman*, Munich, 1891. W. von Seidlitz, *Raphaël und Timoteo Viti, nebst einem Ueberblick über Raphael's Jugendentwickelung* in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, *Band* XIV., *Heft* 1. B. Berenson, *Le "Sposalizio" du Musée de Caen*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, April, 1896. W. Koopman, *Raffaels erste Arbeiten. Entgegnung auf Herrn von Seidlitz*, *Besprechung meiner Raffael-Studien*, Marburg, 1891. K. Károly, Raphael's Madonnas and other great Pictures, London, 1894. M. K. Kellogg, Researches into the History of "*La Belle Jardinière*" of Raphael, London, 1860. Paliard, *Le Raphael d'un million*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, September, 1877. C. J. Cavallucci, *La Madonna di Vallombrosa di Raffaello di Urbino*, Florence, 1870. Baron C. E. von Liphart, *Notice historique sur un tableau de Raphael*, Paris, 1867. Mgr. Farabulini, *Lettre sur la Vierge de Sainte-Claire par Raphaël*, Paris, 1878. P. V. Belloc, *La Vierge au Poisson de Raphaël*, Paris and Lyons, 1833. C. von Fabriczy, *Die sogenannte kleine hl. Familie Rafael's im Louvre*, in the *Repertorium für*

Kunstwissenschaft, Bd. XII., *Heft* 2. Hübner, *Die Sixtinische Madonna*, in the *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1870, Vol. III., pp. 249–279. G. Portig, *Die Sixtinische Madonna von Raphael*, Leipsic, 1882. C. von Pulszky, *Raphael Santi in der Ungarischen Reich's Gallerie*. Buda-Pesth, 1882. G. Gruyer, *Le Saint George et les deux Saint Michel de Raphaël au Musée du Louvre*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, May 1, 1889. . . . On Raphael as portrait-painter, see especially F. A. Gruyer, as above in Bibliography. Among special articles referring to portraits are also, *Di alcuni ritratti delle gallerie fiorentine, I due ritratti di Raffaello*, article by E. Ridolfi in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., pp. 425–455. *Il ritratto del Cardinale Alidosi di Raffaello*, article by E. Müntz in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., pp. 328–337. J. Delmati, *Le portrait du duc d' Urbino par Raphaël dans la collection des comtes Suardi, aujourd'hui Mavenzi de Bergamo, avec notes et documents historiques*, Milan, 1891. F. A. Gruyer, *Portrait de Jeanne d'Aragon par Raphael, Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 2d Series, XXII., p. 465, Paris, 1880. Works referring to the frescoes of Raphael, in the Vatican, Farnesina, etc., are almost endless; a few of them are mentioned here: L. Gruner and E. Platner, *I Freschi della villa Magliana di Raffaello d' Urbino, etc.*, Rome, 1847. Platner, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 1830. Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano descritto*. F. Cerroti, *Le Pitture delle Stanze Vaticane*, Rome, 1869–72. Hermann Dalton, *Rafael und die Stanza della Segnatura im Vatikan zu Rom*, St. Petersburg, 1870. P. P. Montagnani, *Illustrazione storico-pittorica, con incisioni a contorni delle pitture nelle Stanze Vaticane di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino*, Rome, 1830. The same author published an earlier work in 1828 on the same subject. A. Tredelenburg, *Ueber Rafael's Schule von Athen*, Berlin, 1843. Gruyer, *Les Fresques de Raphael au Vatican*, Paris, 1859. W. W. Lloyd, Raphael in the Vatican, London, 1866. W. Scherer, *Ueber Raphael's Schule von Athen*, Vienna, 1872. Brunn, *Die Compositionen der Wandgemälde Raphaels im Vatican*, Berlin. Dr. A. Richter, *Ueber Rafael's Schule von Athen*, Heidelberg, 1882. A. Springer, *Raffael's Schule von Athen*, Vienna, 1883. A. Springer, *Rafael's Disputà*, Bonn, 1860. H. Dollmayr, *Lo Stanzino da bagno del cardinale Bibbiena*, in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, III., p. 273. Julia Cartwright, Raphael in Rome, 1896 (from the Portfolio). For special details upon the Farnesina, see besides Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Müntz, and Passavant: C. Bigot, *Raphaël et la Farnésine*, Paris, 1884; English edition, London, same date. R. Förster, *Farnesina-Studien*, Rostock, 1880. A. Venturi, *La Farnesina*, Rome, 1890. Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi il Magnifico*. Arthur Weese, *Anteil an dem malerischen Schmucke der Villa Farnesina*, 1894. A number of special works have been devoted to the cartoons and the tapestries, among which are: E. Müntz, *Les Tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican et dans les principaux musées et collections de l'Europe*, Paris. E. Müntz, *Histoire de la Tapisserie en Italie*, Paris, 1880. *Chronique des Arts*, 1876, Nos. 28–32, 1877, Nos. 25, 26, 1879, No. 36. Koch, *Rafael's Tapeten im Vatican*, Vienna, 1878. See G. Lafenestre, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, November 1, 1880, for a study on certain fragments of the cartoon of the Calling of Peter in Chantilly collection. G. F. Waagen, Treasures of Art in England. G. F. Waagen. *Die Cartons von Rafael in besonderer Beziehung auf die nach denselben gewirkten Teppiche in der Rotunde des Königlichen Museums*

zu Berlin, Berlin, 1860. W. W. Lloyd, Christianity in the Cartoons of Raphael, London, 1865.

There are many early works upon Raphael, most of which have been completely superseded.

Paolo Giovio's notice of Raphael, which is the earliest in point of date, was first published by Tiraboschi in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, and among the older works treating of Raphael are Lomazzo, *Trattato dell' arte della pittura*, Milan, 1585. Bellori, *Descrizione delle immagini dipinte da Rafaello nelle camere del Vaticano*, Rome, 1695. Bellori, *Descrizione delle imagini dipinte da Raffaelle d' Urbino nel palazzo Vaticano*, Rome, 1751. Camolli, *Vita inedita di Raffaello da Urbino*, Rome, 1790 (this was the reproduction in good faith by Camolli of a work which proved to be a forgery). Francesconi, *Congettura che una lettera creduta di Baldassare Castiglione sia di Raffaello*, Rome, 1799. C. P. Landon, *Vies et Œuvres des Peintres*, Paris, 1803–1820. H. H. Fuessli, *Ueber das Leben und die Werke Raphael Sanzio's*, Zurich, 1815. G. Chr. Braun, *Raphael Sanzio's Leben und Werke*, Wiesbaden, 1855. R. Duppa, The Life of Raffaello, London, 1816 and 1846. Sir Joshua Reynolds' Raffaello, from his characters of celebrated artists, is included in Duppa's Rafaello. F. Rehberg, *Rafael aus Urbino*, Munich, 1824. W. Lübke, *Rafaels Leben*, Dresden, 1822. Carlo Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino ed alcune di lui opere*, Rome, 1822. C. Quatremère de Quincy, *Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Raphael*, Paris, 1824 (there have been subsequent English and Italian editions). G. K. Nagler, *Rafael als Mensch und Künstler*, Munich, 1836.

THE large and liberal hand wherewith Heaven is sometimes pleased to accumulate the infinite riches of its treasures on the head of one sole favourite, showering on him all those rare gifts and graces, which are more commonly distributed among a larger number of individuals, and accorded at long intervals of time only, has been clearly exemplified in the well-known instance of Raphael Sanzio of Urbino.[1]

No less excellent than graceful,* he was endowed by nature with all that modesty and goodness which may occasionally be perceived in those few favoured persons who enhance the gracious sweetness of a disposition more than usually gentle, by the fair ornament of a winning amenity, always ready to conciliate, and constantly giving evidence

* All through this life the Italian word *grazioso*, which really means gracious, amiable, is translated graceful.

[1] His name was Raffaello Santi; the Santi was Latinized to Sanctius and Italianized back to Sanzio.

of the most refined consideration for all persons and under every circumstance. The world received the gift of this artist from the hand of Nature when, vanquished by Art in the person of Michael Angelo, she deigned to be subjugated in that of Raphael, not by art only but by goodness also. And of a truth, since the greater number of artists had up to that period derived from nature a certain rudeness and eccentricity which not only rendered them uncouth * and fantastic, but often caused the shadows and darkness of vice to be more conspicuous in their lives than the light and splendour of those virtues by which man is rendered immortal ; so was there good cause wherefore she should, on the contrary, make all the rarest qualities of the heart to shine resplendently in her Raphael, perfecting them by so much diffidence, grace, application to study, and excellence of life, that these alone would have sufficed to veil or neutralize every fault, however important, and to efface all defects, however glaring they might have been. Truly may we affirm that those who are the possessors of endowments so rich and varied as were assembled in the person of Raphael, are scarcely to be called simple men only, they are rather, if it be permitted so to speak, entitled to the appellation of mortal gods ; and further are we authorized to declare, that he † who by means of his works has left an honoured name in the records of fame here below, may also hope to enjoy such rewards in heaven as are commensurate to and worthy of their labours and merits.

Raphael was born at Urbino,[2] a most renowned city of

* Read absent-minded (*astratto*) for uncouth.

† For he and his and has, in this sentence, read they and their and have.

[2] A passage in Bembo's epitaph of Raphael in the Pantheon implies that he died upon the anniversary of his birth, namely, Good Friday (as assumed by Vasari). The fact that Good Friday is a movable Fast has been further complicated by the possibility of counting either by the Julian calendar or the astronomical tables. In 1483 Good Friday fell upon March 26 or 28 ; in 1520, the year of Raphael's death, upon April 6. Hence there is confusion among authorities upon what is really a matter of not much importance, Müntz, Springer, Paliard, and Robinson accepting March 28 as the date, Passavant, Clément, Layard, and others accepting April 6.

Italy, on Good Friday of the year 1483, at three o'clock of the night.[3] His father was a certain Giovanni de' Santi,[4] a painter of no great eminence in his art, but a man of sufficient intelligence nevertheless, and perfectly competent to direct his children into that good way which had not for his misfortune been laid open to himself in his younger days. And first, as he knew how important it is that a child should be nourished by the milk of its own mother, and not by that of the hired nurse, so he determined when his son Raphael (to whom he gave that name at his baptism, as being one of good augury) was born to him, that the mother of the child, he having no other, as indeed he never had more,[5] should herself be the nurse of the child. Gio-

[3] About nine in the evening at this season of the year. The Italians commenced the enumeration of the hours at one hour after sunset.

[4] Giovanni Santi was born *circa* 1440 and died in 1494. He married Magia Ciarla, daughter of a well-to-do merchant of Urbino. She was the mother of Raphael and died in 1491. Two other children of the Santi died in infancy. Giovanni married a second wife, Bernadina di Parte, in 1492; her only child died while young. After the decease of Giovanni Santi his brother, the priest Dom Bartolommeo, became the guardian and tutor of Raphael, whose maternal aunt, Santa Santi, constantly befriended him, as did his maternal uncle, Simone Ciarla.

Giovanni Santi was an excellent master, as is shown by his pictures in the galleries of London, Berlin, and Milan. His instructor in art was probably Melozzo da Forli. In 1469 Piero della Francesca lodged with Giovanni and very possibly influenced his work. The importance of Giovanni Santi in the Umbrian School was only recognized in the present century. See Passavant on the Santi family and his biography of Giovanni. He had a taste for literature and composed a long chronicle in *terza rima*, celebrating the acts of Duke Federigo of Urbino.

In 1450 Peruzzolo Santi came from the village of Colbordolo to Urbino, and in 1463, his son Sante, a general provision merchant, bought a house, or rather two adjoining houses, in the Contrada del Monte, now Contrada di Raffaello, near the market. Here Raphael was born. Muzio Oddi, a local architect, purchased the house in the seventeenth century, and raising some of the ceilings altered it so much that it is doubtful if any of the rooms now entirely retain their original appearance. Oddi placed an inscription on the house; and this *lapide* still exists. In 1873 the Royal Academy of Urbino bought the house. The Academy has restored the building, and exhibits there, besides a collection of reproductions, the battered fresco of Giovanni Santi, said, though upon no certain grounds, to contain the portraits of his wife and of Raphael as an infant. See M. Müntz's *Raphaël*.

[5] See note 4.

vanni further desired that in its tender years, the boy should rather be brought up to the habits of his own family, and beneath his paternal roof, than be sent where he must acquire habits and manners less refined, and modes of thought less commendable, in the houses of the peasantry, or other untaught persons.[6] As the child became older Giovanni began to instruct him in the first principles of painting, perceiving that he was much inclined to that art and finding him to be endowed with a most admirable genius ; few years had passed therefore before Raphael, though still but a child, became a valuable assistant to his father in the numerous works which the latter executed in the State of Urbino.[7]

At length this good and affectionate parent, knowing that his son would acquire but little of his art from himself, resolved to place him with Pietro Perugino,[8] who, according

[6] It is probable that Raphael had a fairly good education. When his father died he was not rich, but the boy was freed from any immediate embarrassment and was able to continue his studies. The estate was settled only after years of litigation.

[7] As already stated in note 4, Giovanni Santi was an excellent master, and although he died in 1494 he may have taught Raphael the rudiments of painting, but the boy could hardly have assisted his father. The artists of the Renaissance were precocious; Mantegna at seventeen painted for a Paduan church; Michelangelo at fifteen sculptured the faun; Perugino was apprenticed when nine years old, Andrea del Sarto when seven. Allowing eight years for apprenticeship and "companionship," Raphael may have finished his preliminary studies at the age of sixteen years; during this period he probably received instruction from Timoteo Viti, and had seen certain works of Justus of Ghent, Piero della Francesca, Melozzo da Forli, and possibly also engravings after Mantegna and Schöngauer. Although the belief that Timoteo Viti was the first master of Raphael is questioned by some critics, others, including Müntz, Layard, and Minghetti, have decided in its favor, and Morelli is the especial champion of the theory; see his Italian Masters in German Galleries, also Müntz's *Raphaël*, p. 27, and Minghetti's Raffaello, English edition, pp. 21–23.

[8] Raphael was not apprenticed to Perugino by Giovanni Santi, who died in 1494, and whose will proves that the boy Raphael was in Urbino at the time of his father's death. Professor Anton Springer (as also Morelli) shows that Perugino was almost constantly absent from Perugia from 1493 to 1499. On June 5, 1499, Raphael appeared as a witness against his stepmother Bernardina, and on May 15, 1500, Dom Bartolomeo spoke in court of Raphael's being absent from Urbino and signed a paper "*pro dicto Raphaele absente.*"

to what Giovanni had been told, was then considered to hold the first place among the painters of the time. Wherefore, proceeding to Perugia for that purpose, and finding Pietro to be absent from the city, he occupied himself, to the end that he might await the return of the master with the less inconvenience in the execution of certain works for the church of San Francesco in that place.[9] But when

This would seem to fix the date of Raphael's journey to Perugia within narrow limits. See A. Springer, *Raphaelstudien*, in *Zeitschrift*, *3tes Heft*, 1873. Signor Minghetti, who has made a special study of the masters of Raphael, assigns 1499–1500 as the date of Raphael's arrival in Perugia, that is to say, the favorable moment when Perugino was commencing one of his greatest works, the decoration of the Sala del Cambio. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle still adhere to the old belief that Raphael left home when a child, and began to study under Perugino as early as 1495. Their arguments are clever but not convincing.

Morelli, Italian Masters in German Galleries, pp. 285–340, makes an earnest plea in favor of Timoteo Viti as the first real master of Raphael, and as one who painted "Raphaelite" pictures before Raphael was old enough to be able to paint them. He claims that the boy served his first art apprenticeship in Urbino, beginning under his father, and continuing with Timoteo until he went to Perugia in 1499–1500. See Morelli, *op. cit.*, for long and careful comparison of the style of many works by Viti and Raphael.

It is only of late years that the merits of Timoteo Viti have been recognized. He was probably born in Ferrara about 1467. At the age of twenty-three he was sent to Bologna to learn the goldsmith's art, but entered the studio of Francia instead. Timoteo returned to Urbino in 1495; he married there in 1501 and held the office of court painter under the successive Dukes; in 1513 he occupied the post of chief magistrate. He died in 1523. The works of Viti are rare; for details see Morelli's Italian Masters in German Galleries, pp. 285–340. It was probably from Viti that Raphael derived those marked characteristics of the Ferrarese school visible in his earlier works, which betray the pupil of Francia and Costa.

A fine drawing of a man in a black cap in the British Museum has been called the portrait of Timoteo Viti by Raphael. Morelli (Italian Painters, II., p. 83) attributes it to Sodoma.

[9] It is doubtful if Giovanni Santi ever painted in Perugia or executed any work for the church of San Francesco; no documents exist to prove it. Possibly Vasari here refers to the picture of the Resurrection of Christ painted by the young Raphael, which is now in the Vatican. As this picture was executed for, and was formerly in, the church of San Francesco, the hypothesis appears to be reasonable. In the collection of drawings at Oxford are two sheets of drawings of the guardians of the tomb; as the painting has often been attributed to Perugino, the existence of these drawings would tend to prove that Raphael was responsible for a part of the work. Messrs.

Pietro had returned to Perugia, Giovanni, who was a person of very good manners and pleasing deportment, soon formed an amicable acquaintanceship with him, and when the proper opportunity arrived, made known to him the desire he had conceived, in the most suitable manner that he could devise. Thereupon Pietro, who was also exceedingly courteous, as well as a lover of fine genius, agreed to accept the care of Raphael; Giovanni then returned to Urbino; and having taken the boy, though not without many tears from his mother, who loved him tenderly, he conducted him to Perugia; when Pietro no sooner beheld his manner of drawing,[10] and observed the pleasing deportment of the youth, than he conceived that opinion of him which was in due time so amply confirmed by the results produced in the after life of Raphael.[11]

Crowe and Cavalcaselle are inclined to give all of the execution of the picture to Raphael, but think that he received a sketch for it from Perugino. Vasari does not mention the allegory in the National Gallery entitled the Knight's Dream; this is an early work of Raphael, probably painted while studying at Urbino under Timoteo Viti, as the details of the picture strongly recall the authenticated works of that master. The pen-and-ink drawing for it is in the same gallery. There is another youthful work, a small St. Michael in the Louvre, painted on the back of a draught-board for Duke Guidobaldo.

[10] The so-called Sketch-Book of Raphael now in the Academy at Venice contains some studies which were evidently executed during Raphael's apprenticeship under Perugino. There are one hundred and six drawings on fifty-three sheets, some of them showing signs of once having been bound in a book. They have aroused much controversy among critics. Morelli is of the opinion that the sketches are by different hands, and that very few of the drawings are by Raphael himself. For details of the controversy and a critical examination of the Sketch-Book see Morelli, Italian Masters in German Galleries; Kahl, *Das venezianische Skizzenbuch*, Leipsic, 1882; Schmarsow, *Raphael's Skizzenbuch in venedig*, in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Berlin, 1882, and Müntz, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–78 (the latter author gives many reproductions of the drawings). Morelli claims to have discovered no less than one hundred and eighteen of Pinturicchio's drawings among the works ascribed to Raphael in different collections. He includes among these the drawing (in the Academy of Venice) made from the marble group of the Three Graces, which stood in the Libreria of Siena until it was removed to the Opera del Duomo. Although Morelli gives this drawing to Pinturicchio, many famous critics believe it to be by Raphael. See E. Müntz, *Raphaël*, 124–129, and F. A. Gruyer, *Raphaël et l'Antiquité*, I., pp. 240–245.

[11] The house of Perugino in which Raphael worked still exists in the Via

It is a well-known fact that while studying the manner of Pietro, Raphael imitated it so exactly at all points,[12] that his copies cannot be distinguished from the original works of the master,[13] nor can the difference between the performances of Raphael and those of Pietro be discerned with any certainty.[14] This is proved clearly by certain figures still to be seen in Perugia, and which the former executed in a picture painted in oil in the Church of San Francesco, for Madonna Maddalena degl' Oddi. The subject of this work is the Assumption of the Virgin,[15] and the figures here alluded to are those of Our Lady and of the Saviour himself, who is in the act of crowning her ; beneath them and around the tomb are the Apostles, who contemplate the celestial glory, and at the foot of the painting, in a predella divided into three stories, is the Virgin receiving the Annunciation from the Angel, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Infant Christ in the Temple, with Simeon who receives the Divine Child into his arms. This painting is without doubt executed with extraordinary diligence, and

Deliziosa of Perugia. It bears a commemorative tablet set up by the Municipality in 1865.

[12] The art of Raphael is divided into three distinct stages of development. First, the Perugian, from 1500 to 1506, which bears the impress of Perugino's teaching and (see Morelli) of the still earlier instructions of Timoteo Viti. The second, or Florentine, shows more individuality, but is influenced by Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo, and Luca Signorelli. In the third, or Roman period, from 1508 to 1520, Raphael is influenced by Michelangelo, but attains his complete development. One must add to this that not only the masters enumerated above, but nearly all the conspicuous painters of his time had their influence upon this all-receptive, all-assimilative mind.

[13] An example of this is shown in the Coronation of the Virgin, which Raphael painted after Perugino had left Perugia in 1502.

[14] The famous little picture in the Louvre called Apollo and Marsyas, a study for which is in Venice, has provoked a long famous controversy. Mr. Morris Moore purchased the picture under the conviction that it was an early work by Raphael, and eventually it was bought as such from him by the Louvre. Critics are divided respecting its authorship; much earnestness and some acrimony have been displayed in their controversy; many critics refuse to accept it as a Raphael. Pinturicchio has been suggested as the painter, and Morelli says that its author is someone having a close affinity with the style of Perugino.

[15] This is more properly a Coronation.

all who have not a thorough knowledge of the manner of Pietro, will assuredly take it to be a work of that master, whereas it is most certainly by the hand of Raphael.[16]

After the completion of this picture, Pietro repaired for certain of his occasions to Florence when Raphael departed from Perugia and proceeded with several of his friends to Città di Castello, where he painted a picture in the same manner, for the church of Sant' Agostino,[17] with one representing the crucified Saviour,[18] for that of San Domenico;

[16] The Coronation of the Virgin was painted in 1502–04, and is now in the Vatican. The composition of the picture is frankly divided into two quite separate portions, connected only by the upturned gazing of the Apostles who stand in the lower half of the picture. The influence of Perugino may be noticed in the upper portion of the picture, and in the *predella* as well. Of the angels M. Müntz says: "They have a mingled grace and pride which recall rather the Florentine, than the Umbrian school. Botticelli would not have disavowed them." The contract mentions Raphael as "Master." Vasari evidently considered the picture of little importance when he prepared his first edition, as he barely mentioned it. Original drawings (at present in the Museum of Lille) for this picture show that boys in tights and doublets posed for the first studies of Christ and the Virgin. The *predella* is in the Vatican, and cartoons for it are in the Louvre, at Oxford, and in the collection at Stockholm.

[17] In the museums of Oxford and of Lille are designs for a coronation of San Niccolo da Tolentino (probably painted in 1501–02). The picture is lost. In the Pinacoteca of Città di Castello are two paintings on canvas (in ruinous condition) which make up the two sides of a processional banner. They represent the Trinity and the Creation of Eve, and have been attributed to Raphael. Morelli, Italian Masters, etc., p. 317, note, 1, ascribes the banner to Eusebio di San Giorgio. Layard, who was an intimate personal friend of Morelli, says in his Kugler, edition of 1891, that Morelli accredited the aforesaid banner to Francesco Thifer, but refers to Morelli's note as above, which in the London edition of 1883 names Eusebio and says nothing of Thifer. Neither critic is now living, and the annotators of these volumes are unaware whether Layard's note is an inadvertency or is the result of later information furnished by Morelli personally or in some later edition.

[18] This is the Dudley Crucifixion, formerly in the possession of Lord Dudley. It was exhibited at the winter exposition of the Royal Academy in 1892, and was bought in 1893 by Ludwig Mond, Esq., for 10,600 guineas. This was the first picture signed by Raphael, "Raphael Vrbinas, P.," so that we may presume that at the time he painted the picture he had finished his apprenticeship. Raphael's course of study under Perugino ended in 1502. Mr. Claude Phillips writes of this picture in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1892, I., p. 160. Morelli, Italian Masters in German Galleries, pp. 323, 324, finds that

which last, if it were not for the name of Raphael written upon it, would be supposed by every one to be a work of Pietro Perugino. For the church of San Francesco in the same city he painted[19] a small picture representing the espousals of Our Lady, and in this work the process of excellence may be distinctly traced in the manner of Raphael, which is here much refined, and greatly surpasses that of Pietro. In the painting here in question, there is a church drawn in perspective with so much care that one cannot but feel amazed at the difficulty of the problems which the artist has set himself to solve.

While Raphael was thus acquiring the greatest fame by the pursuit of this manner, the painting of the library belonging to the Cathedral of Siena, had been entrusted by Pope Pius II.[20] to Bernardino Pinturicchio, who was a friend of Raphael's, and, knowing him to be an excellent designer, took the latter with him to Siena.[21] Here

here the "*impressionable artist*" already forgets his old master, Timoteo, for his new one, Perugino.

[19] This picture, probably painted in 1504, and now in the Brera at Milan, is the famous "*Sposalizio*." A *Sposalizio* in the Museum of Caen, and always hitherto attributed to Perugino, resembles it strikingly, and critics generally have claimed that Raphael imitated, though he greatly improved upon, his master's picture. Mr. Bernhard Berenson in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, April, 1896, with excellent arguments and careful comparison, asserts that the picture in Caen is not by Perugino at all, but by Lo Spagna, and that so far from being the prototype of Raphael's *Sposalizio*, it postdates and imitates the latter picture. The Caen *Sposalizio* has been so generally considered the genesis of Raphael's picture (while the grouping has also been compared with that in a *predella* by Perugino at Fano) that the article by Mr. Berenson becomes one of great critical interest. A study in the Wicar Museum at Lille has been claimed as a sketch for the head of the Virgin in the *Sposalizio*, but later criticism denies that the study is by Raphael.

[20] Then Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini.

[21] Some writers refuse to believe in a visit of Raphael to Siena at this period. Sigismondo Tizio, in his history of Siena, does not mention him, although he gives the names of the other painters who worked in the city. For a discussion of the vexed question of the cartoons, see the Life of Pinturicchio, page 292 of Volume II.; Schmarsow's *Raphaël und Pinturicchio in Siena;* Crowe and Cavalcaselle's, Passavant's, Müntz's, and Springer's works on Raphael, and Morelli's Italian Masters in German Galleries. The

Raphael made Pinturicchio certain of the designs and cartoons for that work : nor would the young artist have failed to continue there, but for the reports which had reached him concerning Leonardo da Vinci, of whose merits he heard many painters of Siena speak in terms of the highest praise. They more especially celebrated the cartoon which Leonardo had prepared in the Sala del Papa at Florence, for a most beautiful group of horses which was to be executed for the Great Hall of the Palace. They likewise mentioned another cartoon, representing nude figures, and made by Michel Angelo Buonarroti, in competition with Leonardo, whom he had on that occasion greatly surpassed. These discourses awakened in Raphael so ardent a desire to behold the works thus commended, that, moved by the love he ever bore to excellence in art, and setting aside all thought of his own interest or convenience, he at once proceeded to Florence.[22]

Arrived in that place,[23] he found the city please him

balance of evidence seems, however, to support Vasari in his statement. Between 1504 and 1508 we find Raphael in Città di Castello, Urbino, Florence, and Perugia, and possibly in Bologna also, so that it is not unlikely that he went to Siena at the invitation of Pinturicchio. It is possible that at this time Raphael made a drawing of two of the Three Graces, an antique group which was then in the library and is now in the Opera del Duomo ; this drawing is in the Academy of Venice (Morelli, however, says it is by Pinturicchio). Here, too, according to the conjectures of M. Müntz, Raphael "may have been dazzled by the paintings of Sodoma," and first met Baldassare, Peruzzi, and Giovanni Barile, "recruiting allies and rivals for the great artistic tournament which he was soon to hold in Rome, to the astonishment of all time to come." Tradition says that Raphael's portrait is to be found in the frescoes of the library, and at different times various figures have been pointed out as that of Raphael. See Passavant, *Raphael d' Urbin*, etc., I., p. 61.

[22] The events which Vasari now describes may have occurred during Raphael's second or possibly his third visit to Florence. Raphael first came to Florence in 1504, but Michelangelo's cartoon was not exhibited till 1506.

[23] He was given a letter to the Gonfaloniere Soderini by Giovanna della Rovere, Duchess of Urbino. "To the High and Magnificent Lord and most Honoured Father, Pier Soderini, Gonfaloniere of Florence. The bearer of this present is the painter Raphael of Urbino. The talent which he possesses has decided him to come to Florence for a time, to perfect himself in his art. His father was dear to me for his many excellent qualities, and I had not less

equally with the works he had come to see, although the latter appeared to him divine; he therefore determined to remain there for some time, and soon formed a friendly intimacy with several young painters, among whom were Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Aristotele San Gallo, and others.[24]

affection for his son, who is a modest and agreeable young man, and one who will, I hope, make all possible progress. This is why I specially recommend him to your lordship, begging you to second him by all the means in your power. I shall look upon the services which you may render him as done to myself, and be under the greatest possible obligation to you. Urbino, October 1, 1504, Joanna Feltria de Ruvere (*sic*), Ducissa Saræ et Urbis Prefectissa." Grimm, *Das Leben Raphaels*, I., 83, and Wolzogen, Raphael Santi, English edition, p. 224, note, do not believe that this letter is authentic; equally weighty authorities, Milanesi, Passavant, and Gaye, pronounce it genuine. For a discussion of this point, see Wolzogen, *op. cit.* The letter was sold at auction in Paris in 1856 for 200 francs! Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 150, note, cites many Urbinate documents sold at the same time, and their co-existence seems to certify the genuineness of Giovanna's letter. Pungileoni doubted the identity of the person recommended by this letter, as he discovered in the archives of Urbino the existence of another painter of the name of Raphael, son of Pietro Ghisello; but considering the relations of Giovanni Santi to the reigning house of Urbino, this hypothesis may be rejected.

[24] That city and works pleased him equally well and that both seemed to him "divine" is a fitting introduction on the part of Vasari to Raphael, newly come to Florence, the supreme representative of the Tuscan art-development, first brought face to face with the city which was its cradle, its nursery, and its training-ground. Rome was to become its final theatre, but Florence had been its creator, and when Raphael arrived in 1504 Florentine art was in a period of *sturm und drang*, and there was an intense fermentation of transition. Men were still eagerly questioning the future, but were beginning to doubt the past. Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, Filippino were still respected, but the artists in a tremor of expectation looked forward to the walls upon which Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo were painting their battles of Pisa and of Anghiari. Soon men would condemn Perugino's work as obsolete. The door was opening upon the new order of things, the artists were crowding to the threshold, but so new indeed was this order that not only things but conditions changed, and where a whole group of peers had stood shoulder to shoulder in the fifteenth century, only three men entered the sixteenth century as supreme masters of the Tusco-Roman school—Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo. Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto stood by their sides, but as lesser men. Correggio and Titian were far away in the north. The other *cinquecentisti* of Florence were pupils, followers, or, if individual artists, so completely dominated by the overpowering personality of two or three great masters, that in the history of art they have yielded to the inevitable.

It was a wonderful time, this last step of the upgrowth, and must have been

He was, indeed, much esteemed in that city, but above all, by Taddeo Taddei,[25] who, being a great admirer of distinguished talent, desired to have him always in his house[26] and at his table. Thereupon Raphael, who was kindliness itself, that he might not be surpassed in generosity and courtesy, painted two pictures for Taddeo,[27] wherein there are traces of his first manner, derived from Pietro, and also of that much better one which he acquired at a later period by study, as will be related hereafter. These pictures are

one of intense excitement. Raphael worked from the frescoes of Masaccio; he may have known Botticelli, have seen Filippino Lippi just before his death, have heard from Andrea della Robbia how he helped carry Donatello to his grave; heard too the story of Savonarola from his ardent followers, Baccio della Porta and Lorenzo di Credi, a story which would have been told all the more earnestly in those days when the Republican Soderini was "perpetual" chief magistrate of Florence. Not even the realization of the culmination in Rome in the *Stanze* of the Vatican and under the vaulting of the Sistine is more stimulating to the art lover than is the interest of this time when Raphael first saw the work of Donatello, Ghiberti, the Della Robbia, and first met Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo Buonarroti face to face.

[25] During the four years of his stay in Florence, Raphael was but little known; Albertini does not even mention him in the famous *Memoriale*, and his large commissions came wholly from his native Umbria. Only a few Florentine amateurs ordered easel pictures of him; and the fact, says M. Müntz, determined the nature of his work and caused this Florentine sojourn to become the "period of his Madonnas"—not the great virgins of altar-pieces for churches, but of easel pictures for private palaces. Taddeo Taddei, Lorenzo Nasi, and the Dei were among his few Florentine patrons. The beautiful Madonna del Gran Duca in the Pitti is said to date from about 1504.

[26] This house still exists in the Via San Gallo and bears a modern inscription, *Raffaello da Urbino fu ospite di Taddeo di Francesco Taddei in questa casa nel MDV.* (Raphael of Urbino was the guest of Taddeo di Francesco Taddei in this house in the year 1505.)

[27] One of these pictures, the Madonna of the Meadow, dated 1506, is in the Imperial Art Museum at Vienna. The other painting is considered by Passavant to be the Holy Family in the Bridgewater Gallery, London. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest the Holy Family with the beardless St. Joseph at the Hermitage. M. Clément, however, believes this picture to be one of those painted for Guidobaldo. With a few exceptions Raphael's easel pictures were painted in oil. His early works were entirely executed by his own hand, but later he entrusted pupils with a large part of the work, until at last he sometimes did little more than supervise the painting. Raphael's share in his various pictures is discussed in nearly all of the important biographies of the artist.

still carefully preserved by the heirs of the above-named Taddeo. Raphael also formed a close friendship with Lorenzo Nasi, and the latter, having taken a wife at that time, Raphael painted a picture for him, wherein he represented Our Lady,[28] with the Infant Christ, to whom San Giovanni, also a child, is joyously offering a bird which is causing infinite delight and gladness to both the children. In the attitude of each there is a childlike simplicity of the utmost loveliness : they are besides so admirably coloured, and finished with so much care, that they seem more like living beings than mere paintings. Equally good is the figure of the Madonna : it has an air of singular grace and even divinity, while all the rest of the work—the foreground, the surrounding landscape, and every other particular, are exceedingly beautiful. This picture was held in the highest estimation by Lorenzo Nasi so long as he lived, not only because it was a memorial of Raphael, who had been so much his friend, but on account of the dignity and excellence of the whole composition : but on the 9th of August, in the year 1548, the work was destroyed by the sinking down of the hill of San Giorgio ; when the house of Lorenzo was overwhelmed by the fallen masses together with the beautiful and richly decorated dwelling of the heirs of Marco del Nero, and many other buildings. It is true that the fragments of the picture were found among the ruins of the house, and were put together in the best manner that he could contrive, by Battista the son of Lorenzo, who was a great lover of art.

After having completed these works, Raphael was himself compelled to leave Florence and repair to Urbino,[29] where

[28] This is the *Madonna del Cardellino* (of the goldfinch), now in the Uffizi, painted in 1506. The bride of Lorenzo Nasi who received this picture as a wedding gift was Sandra Canigiani, and it was for a member of her family that Raphael painted the Canigiani Madonna, see note 39. In the background is an idealized view of the Duomo and the Campanile. This is probably the first picture which shows the transition from the Peruginesque to Raphael's own manner. The *Belle Jardinière* of the Louvre marks the next step.

[29] In 1504.

his mother and Giovanni his father having both died,[30] his affairs were in much confusion. While thus abiding in Urbino, he painted two pictures of the Madonna for Guidobaldo of Montefeltro, who was then Captain-general of the Florentines ; these pictures are both small, but are exceedingly beautiful examples of Raphael's second manner ; they are now in the possession of the most illustrious and most excellent Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino,[31] For the same noble, the master executed another small picture, representing Christ praying in the garden, with three of the Apostles, who are sleeping at some distance,[32] and which is so beautifully painted that it could scarcely be either better or otherwise were it even in miniature. After having been long in the possession of Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, this picture was presented by the most illustrious lady, his consort, the Duchess Leonora, to the Venetians, Don Paolo Giustiniano and Don Pietro Quirini, brothers of the Holy Hermitage of Camaldoli, and was placed by them, like a relic or sacred thing, in the apartments of the principal of that Hermitage, where it remains, honoured both as a memorial of that illustrious lady and as being from the hand of Raphael of Urbino.

Having completed these works and arranged his affairs, Raphael returned to Perugia, where he painted a picture of Our Lady with San Giovanni Battista and San Niccolò, for the Chapel of the Ansidei Family,[33] in the Church of the

[30] This statement is erroneous. Giovanni Santi died, as already noted, in 1494. Raphael's mother, Magia Ciarla, died in 1491.

[31] MM. Clément and Gruyer believe these pictures to have been the Holy Family with the beardless St. Joseph at the Hermitage of St. Petersburg and the small Madonna of the Orleans Gallery at Chantilly. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also think it probable that the latter was one of the pictures painted for Guidobaldo.

[32] M. Müntz believes that this picture is lost, and does not credit Passavant's story regarding the discovery of the alleged Raphael which is now in the National Gallery, where, however, it is credited to Lo Spagna.

[33] This picture, which is known as the Ansidei Madonna, and which was ordered by the Ansidei family for the chapel of St. Nicholas of Bari in the church of S. Fiorenzo at Perugia, is now in the National Gallery, London.

Servites : and at the Monastery of San Severo, a small Convent of the Order of Camaldoli, in the same city, he painted a fresco [34] for the Chapel of Our Lady. The subject of this work is Christ in Glory, with God the Father, surrounded by Angels, and six figures of Saints seated, three on each side : San Benedetto, San Romualdo, and San Lorenzo, on the one side namely ; with San Girolamo, San Mauro, and San Placido, on the other. Beneath this picture, which, for a work in fresco, was then considered very beautiful,[35]

It was bought by the nation from the Duke of Marlborough for £70,000, the largest sum ever given for a picture. The date which is inscribed on the border of the Virgin's mantle has been variously read 1505, 1506, and 1507. Two sections of the *predella* are in Italy, the third is in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdowne. For further details see M. Gruyer's *Vierges de Raphaël*, III., pp. 447-460, and also an article by Mr. Claude Phillips in the Magazine of Art, VIII., p. 136. Rio thinks that the Ansidei Madonna shows in a marked degree the influence of Masaccio.

[34] A continued sojourn in Perugia delights one more and more with the amazing labyrinth of mediæval lanes and alleys which burrow and twist about San Severo, and with the glorious panorama from the terraces at its side. In all of picturesque Italy there is nothing more picturesque, and yet at the same time there is a sense of solemnity upon everything, a sense given by the vastness of the horizon, where great piles of clouds hang over cities that are shining points upon the plain or dark spots according as the sun lights or leaves them. From these platforms you may see the birth and growth and passing away of storms which perhaps never reach the spectator. Everywhere there is an overwhelming sense of vastness and of light.

Here the old Perugino and the young Raphael have painted upon the same wall, and here (in 1505) Raphael has first felt the inspiration which culminated in his *Disputà*, expressing it in this Perugian fresco in compositional forms directly prompted by the example of his friend, Fra Bartolommeo, and thus emphasizing in the work of an Umbrian the true Tuscan succession of monumental composition. His new comrade-master of Florence has shown him how to pass far beyond his old master of Perugia. Nevertheless the saints painted at the bottom of the picture by Pietro Vanucci do not quite deserve the blame that has been cast upon them. They are rather spiritless ; but although they show the hand of an octogenarian, it is that of an octogenarian who has been Perugino.

[35] Raphael only painted the upper part of the fresco. Having been called to Rome, he found it impossible to leave the Papal Court to finish it, and after his death the commission was given to Perugino, who executed it in 1521. The fresco has suffered much injury and has been restored by Giuseppe Carattoli. Some of the heads have been not merely repainted but recreated.

Raphael wrote his name in large and clearly legible letters. In the same city Raphael was commissioned to paint a picture of Our Lady by the nuns of Sant' Antonio of Padua; the Infant Christ is in the lap of the Virgin and is fully clothed, as it pleased those simple and pious ladies that he should be: on each side of Our Lady are figures of saints, San Pietro namely, with San Paolo, Santa Cecilia, and Santa Caterina.[36] To these two holy virgins the master has given the most lovely features and most graceful attitudes; he has also adorned them with the most fanciful and varied head-dresses that could be imagined—a very unusual thing at that time. In a lunette above this picture he painted a figure of the Almighty Father, which is extremely fine, and on the Predella are three scenes from the history of Christ, in very small figures. The first of these represents the Saviour praying in the garden; in the second he is seen bearing the cross, and here the movements and attitudes of certain soldiers who are dragging him along, are singularly beautiful; the third shows him lying dead in the lap of the Madonna. The whole work is without doubt very admirable: it is full of devout feeling, and is held in the utmost veneration by the nuns for whom it was painted. It is very highly commended by all painters likewise.

But I will not omit to mention in this place, that after

[36] This is the Colonna Raphael, or the Madonna di Sant' Antonio. It was probably begun 1505–1506. It was exhibited at the National Gallery, London, in 1871–1872, and was then withdrawn from exhibition by its owner, the Duke of Ripalda. In 1886 it was removed to the South Kensington Museum. For its recent sale see Appendix. In general composition it is much like the Madonna del Baldacchino. M. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphaël*, III., p. 462, gives the following list of figures: The Virgin and Child; the young St. John and Saints Peter, Paul, Catherine of Alexandria and Dorothea. In the tympanum is painted God the Father, giving a benediction. The cartoon for the picture is in the Louvre. The *predella* was in five parts, which are scattered. One panel, Christ on the Mount of Olives, is in the collection of Lady Burdett-Coutts. Another, Christ bearing the Cross, was sold in 1884 from the Miles collection of Leigh Court, near Bristol (see E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, 235). A third, The Dead Christ, is in a private collection in England. The fourth and fifth, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Anthony of Padua, are in the Dulwich Gallery. It has been stated that only three of these *predella* panels were by Raphael.

Raphael had been to Florence, he is known to have much changed and improved his manner, from having seen the many works by excellent masters to be found in that city; nay, the manner afterwards adopted by him was so little in common with his earlier one, that the works executed in the latter might be supposed to be by a different hand, and one much less excellent in the art.

Before Raphael had left Perugia, he had been requested by Madonna Atalanta Baglioni to paint a picture for her chapel in the church of San Francesco,[37] but as he could not at that time comply with her wishes, he promised that on his return from Florence, whither he was then obliged to proceed for certain affairs, he would not fail to do so. While in Florence, therefore, where he devoted himself with indescribable energy and application to the studies connected with his art, he prepared the cartoon for this chapel, with the intention of proceeding to execute it in San Francesco on the first opportunity that might present itself for doing so, a work which he afterwards accomplished.

While Raphael was thus sojourning in Florence, Agnolo Doni was dwelling in that city; now Agnolo was averse to spending money for other things, but for paintings or sculptures, in which he greatly delighted, he would willingly pay, although he still did so as frugally as was possible. By him, therefore, Raphael was commissioned to paint a portrait of himself, as well as that of his wife, and both were executed, as we now see them; they are in the possession of Agnolo's son, Giovanni Battista, in the house which Agnolo built most handsomely and commodiously, at the corner of the Alberti, in the street of the Dyers, in Florence.[38]

[37] San Bernardino rather, according to Bottari.

[38] The wife, Maddalena Doni, was one of the Strozzi. These two rather wooden portraits painted in 1505 are in the Pitti. They are from the hand of an artist who was making his first and somewhat timid essays in portraiture. They are evidently influenced by Leonardo, but they show too that directness which Raphael, in spite of the "*certo ideale*" which he so loved in other work, never for a moment forgot when he sat before a portrait panel or canvas, and which, although always dignified by style, at times became pitiless. Upon the back of each panel is a scene from the fable of Deucalion and Pyrrha.

For Domenico Canigiani, Raphael also painted a picture wherein he represented the Madonna with the Infant Christ; the divine Child is caressing the little San Giovanni who is brought to him by St. Elizabeth; and the latter, while holding the boy, looks with a most animated countenance at St. Joseph, who stands leaning with both hands on his staff; he bends his head towards her with an expression of astonishment and of praise to God, whose greatness had bestowed this young child on a mother already so far advanced in years. All appear to be amazed at the manner in which the two cousins treat each other at an age so tender, the one evincing his reverence for the Saviour, the other affectionately caressing his companion. Every touch of the pencil in the heads, hands, and feet of this work has produced such effect that the parts seem rather to be of the living flesh than the mere colours of the painter, however able a master of his art. This most noble picture is now in the possession of the heirs of Domenico Canigiani, by whom it is held in all that esteem which is due to a work of Raphael of Urbino.[39]

While in the city of Florence, this most excellent painter studied the ancient works of Masaccio, and what he saw in the labours of Leonardo and Michael Angelo caused him still more zealously to prosecute his studies; he consequently attained to an extraordinary amelioration of manner, and made still further progress in art. Among other artists, Raphael formed a close intimacy with Fra Bartolommeo di San Marco, during his abode in Florence, the manner of that master pleasing him greatly, wherefore he took no small pains

[39] This picture, known as the Madonna Canigiani, was executed in 1506, and is now in the old Pinakothek of Munich. In his composition, as seen in its present condition, Raphael has used an almost geometrical form, the pure pyramid. Baron Von Wolzogen, in his Raphael Santi (English edition, p. 46), states that there were originally two boy angels who were considered superfluous by the Gallery Inspector of Düsseldorf where the picture was placed for a time. He erased them, and the space has been filled with gray clouds. For details regarding the original drawings for this work, see *Les Vierges de Raphaël*, by F. A. Gruyer, III., p. 292.

to imitate his colouring, teaching that good father on his part the rules of perspective, to which the monk had not previously given his attention.

But just when this intercourse was most frequent and intimate, Raphael was recalled to Perugia; here the first work which he performed was that in the church of San Francesco,[40] where he completed the painting promised to the above named Madonna Atalanta Baglioni, for which he had prepared the cartoon in Florence, as we have said. In this most divine picture there is a dead Christ, whom they are bearing to the sepulchre, the body painted with so much care and freshness that it appears to have been only just completed.[41] When occupied with the composition of this work, Raphael had imagined to himself all the grief and pain with which the nearest and most affectionate relatives see borne to the tomb, the corpse of one who has been most dear to them, and on whom has, in truth, depended all the honour and welfare of the entire family. Our Lady is seen to be sinking insensible, and the heads of all the weeping figures are exceedingly graceful; that of

[40] See note 37.

[41] Atalanta Baglioni probably ordered this picture in 1503, but it was only completed in the summer of 1507. It is now in the Villa Borghese, just outside the Popolo Gate of Rome. It was ordered by Atalanta in commemoration of the death of her son Griffone. See the romantic story of the massacre of the Baglioni in the chronicles of Matarazzo. This was Raphael's first dramatic composition, and he made a great number of studies for this picture. These drawings are in the Uffizi, Louvre, University Galleries, the British Museum, in Vienna, the Habich collection at Cassel, while in Oxford there are also a number of them. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, I., pp. 302–317. Passavant thinks that an engraving by Mantegna furnished the idea, and M. Müntz says: "His Christ is evidently inspired by Michelangelo's *Pietà* in Rome." Other critics have noticed the influence of Perugino's *Pietà* painted for the nuns of Santa Chiara. Some of the poses also appear to have been taken from Michelangelo's Doni altarpiece. The *predella* is in the Vatican, it consists of three round panels, Faith, Hope, and Charity. For details concerning this picture, see the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for November 1, 1875, and the Magazine of Art, IX., p. 374, article by Mr. Claude Phillips, entitled "Plagiarisms of the Old Masters."

The freedom and beauty of Raphael's studies for this entombment far surpass the completed work, into which a relatively wooden and rigid character has passed.

San Giovanni more particularly, his hands are clasped together and he bends his head with an expression which cannot but move the hardest heart to compassion. Truly may we say that whoever shall consider the diligence and love, the art and grace exhibited in this work, has good reason to feel astonishment, and it does indeed awaken admiration in all who behold it, not only for the expression of the heads, but for the beauty of the draperies, and in short for the perfection of excellence which it displays in all its parts.

When Raphael, having completed his work, had returned to Florence, he received a commission from the Dei, Florentine citizens, to paint the altar-piece for their chapel in the church of Santo Spirito:[42] this painting the master commenced and made considerable progress with the sketch for it, he likewise prepared a picture[43] at the same time which was afterwards sent to Siena, but had first to be left with Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, on the departure of Raphael,[44] to the end that he might finish an azure vestment which was still wanting when Raphael left Florence.[45] And this

[42] This is the *Madonna del Baldacchino* which Raphael left unfinished in 1508 when he went to Rome. it is now in the Pitti Gallery. The influence of Fra Bartolommeo may be strongly felt in this picture. Morelli calls attention to the singing angels at the foot of the throne as a Venetian motive. The canopy or *baldacchino* was added about 1700 by Agostino Cassana. The panel is much injured by cleaning and restoration. For a study of this work, see F. A. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphaël*, III., pp. 477–499.

[43] The *Belle Jardinière* in the Louvre is supposed to be the picture referred to here. Critics are now inclined to accept Vasari's statement as to Ridolfo's finishing the work. See Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Raphael, I., p. 364, note. It is inscribed RAPHAELLO URB. MDVII. The Colonna Madonna at Berlin has also been suggested as the one to which Vasari refers.

[44] In 1508.

[45] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Raphael, II., p. 14, suggest that Michelangelo may also have been instrumental in bringing Raphael to Rome in 1508. The hostility between the two artists has undoubtedly been exaggerated, and at this date could hardly have begun, so that the hypothesis of these authors is not wholly inadmissible, but what tended first of all to bring Raphael to Rome was that he was an Urbinate. At this time Rome was full of his fellow-countrymen, and what was more likely than that the suggestion of Bramante should have found a weighty backing upon the part of other men favorably known to the pontiff?

last event happened from the circumstance that Bramante of Urbino, being in the service of pope Julius II. for some little relationship that he had with Raphael and because they were of the same place, had written to the latter, informing him that he had prevailed with the Pope to entrust certain rooms which the Pontiff had caused to be built in the Vatican to his care, and that therein he might give evidence of his ability. The proposal gratified Raphael, and he left his works in Florence unfinished, the picture for the Dei family among the rest, but this last was in such a state that Messer Baldassare da Pescia afterwards, on the death of Raphael that is to say, caused it to be placed in the chapter-house of his native city. The master then proceeded to Rome, where he found on his arrival, that a large part of the rooms in the palace had already been painted, or were in process of being painted, by different masters. In one of these apartments, for example, there was an historical picture completed by Piero della Francesca; Luca da Cortona[46] had made considerable progress in the painting of one side of another; Don Pietro della Gatta,[47] abbott of San Clemente in Arezzo, had also commenced certain works in the same place, and Bramantino of Milan had painted numerous figures there, the greater part of which were portraits from the life, which were considered to be exceedingly beautiful.[48] On his ar-

[46] Vasari does not mention this work in the Life of Luca Signorelli.

[47] In the Life of Don Bartolommeo (not Pietro) della Gatta, Vasari does not mention these works; he speaks only of his having collaborated in the painting of the Sistine Chapel.

[48] These various frescoes were of different epochs. Piero della Francesca and Bramantino were the earliest of the painters mentioned in point of date, Della Gatta having worked (if his collaboration be authentic) under Sixtus IV., Signorelli, Perugino, Peruzzi and Sodoma under Julius II. As for the elder Bramantino certain modern critics regard him as non-existent, as a mythical interloper.

We must not forget that Pope Nicholas V. had worthily preceded Julius in the embellishment of the Vatican. Buonfigli of Perugia, Andrea dal Castagno, Bartolommeo di Tommaso of Foligno, Simone of Rome had worked there; when Raphael arrived in Rome (see Müntz, *op. cit*, pp. 324–325), Sodoma was still painting in the *Sala della Segnatura*, but was soon dismissed

rival in Rome,[49] Raphael was received with much kindness by Pope Julius, and commenced a picture[50] in the chamber of the Segnatura,[51] the subject of which is, Theologians en-

Perugino and Luca either had the same fortune or else had finished their work. Bramantino Suardi, Lorenzo Lotto, Michele del Becca d' Imola and Hans Ruysch the Fleming also worked in the *Stanze* at the end of 1508 and the beginning of 1509.

[49] In 1508.

[50] The annexed plan shows the position of Raphael's frescoes in the so-called *Stanze* of the Vatican.

1	2	3	*d* *a* 4 *c* *b*	*d* *a* 5 *c* *b*	*d* *a* 6 *c* *b*	*d* *a* 7 *c* *b*	8

No. 5 is that room called the second *stanza* and is the first in point of date; it is the famous *Camera della Segnatura* or Hall of the Papal Briefs, painted 1509–1511. The frescoes in it are: (*a*) The *Disputà* (Theology); (*b*) Justinian giving his code to Trebonian (Civil Law); Gregory IX. publishing the Decretals (Canon Law) while above is the so-called jurisprudence; (*c*) The School of Athens (Philosophy); (*d*) Apollo and the Poets on Mount Parnassus (Poetry). The vault has medallions of Poetry, Theology, Justice, Science, etc. 6. The third *stanza*, the second as to date, is the *stanza d' Eliodoro* and was painted in 1511–1514. The frescoes are: (*a*) The Flight of Attila; (*b*) The Miracle of Bolsena; (*c*) Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple; (*d*) The Deliverance of St. Peter from Prison; on the vault are Old Testament scenes by pupils. Room 4 on the plan is called the first *stanza* of Raphael and is known as the *Stanza dell' Incendio;* it was painted in 1517, largely with the help of pupils. The frescoes are: (*a*) Coronation of Charlemagne in old St. Peter's; (*b*) Fire in the Borgo; (*c*) Defeat of the Saracens, usually called the Battle of Ostia; (*d*) Leo III. Taking Oath before Charlemagne. 7. Is the so-called *Sala di Costantino* painted with the following subjects by pupils of Raphael, 1520–1524: (*a*) Baptism of Constantine; (*b*) Defeat of Maxentius by Constantine; (*c*) Address of Constantine to his Troops; (*d*) The Donation of Rome to Sylvester by Constantine; on the ceiling is the Overthrow of Paganism. 8. Door leading to Raphael's *loggie* and the picture gallery. The description of Vasari naturally begins with the *Camera della Segnatura*, which was painted first.

[51] With the *Stanze* of Raphael we reach the culmination of monumental painting in Italy. The *Camera della Segnatura* and the Sistine Chapel are the two most famous decorated rooms in the world. Correggio's Cupola of Parma is worthy of being named with them, Leonardo's *Cenacolo* and certain works of Titian may sustain any comparison, but these latter are single works, and Correggio's dome is far less renowned than are the master-series of Raphael and Michelangelo. Of these the Sistine is the grander and more overwhelming, the *Camera della Segnatura* is the serener, and the

gaged in the reconciliation of Philosophy and Astrology with Theology.[52] In this work are depicted all the sages of

general decoration of the room is more homogeneous than that of the *Sistina*, which includes the works of many masters.

Each series is a consummation of artistic achievement. All the seeking and striving and attainment of a Giotto, a Masaccio, a Ghirlandajo, a Fra Bartolommeo are here rounded into the perfection of monumental style and composition. Beauty, feeling, power, may be found in an equal degree in other works of Raphael and of Michelangelo, but monumental composition nowhere rises to so great a height. The art of Italy here attains its meridian in its capital city and in the house of its supreme spiritual rulers.

Raphael had a difficult task before him. The walls were subjected to a cross light, being pierced with windows on two sides; in the vaulted ceilings he had to count with the difficulties presented by pendentives. In the centre of the vaulting is the escutcheon of Nicholas V. (the tiara and keys) supported by genii (these latter are by Sodoma); in the four pendentives are the oblong pictures (the Fall, the Judgment, the Marsyas, the Astronomy); still in the vaulting and just above the centres of the arching of the four walls are the four symbolic medallions of Theology, Justice, Poetry and Philosophy; upon the two walls pierced with windows are the Parnassus and Jurisprudence; upon the two clear and consequently larger walls are the *Disputà* and the School of Athens.

The distribution of the subjects in the *Camera della Segnatura* is the definition of the subjects. Critics have attempted in a whole controversial literature to give the most various explanations of the latter; zealous churchmen have turned Aristotle into St. Paul, and engravers have set halos upon the great philosophers. At last Herr Franz Wickhoff, *Die Bibliothek Julius II.* Vol. XIV. of the *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, has given a perfectly clear and satisfactory explanation of the pictorial intention of the *Camera della Segnatura*. The four walls simply carry out the arrangement of a library under the four heads of Theology, Philosophy, Jurisprudence and Poetry, epitomized in the wall paintings and symbolized by the four medallion figures overhead. The arrangement in fact is, in the words of Herr Cornelius von Fabriczy, "*l' illustrazione d'un catalogo di libri.*" The fine pavement of the *Stanza* is of mosaic, so that the room counts not only by its wall paintings, but as a harmonious *ensemble*, although the rich wood mosaics of Fra Giovanni da Verona which once covered the lower walls were replaced under Pope Paul III. by the painting of Perino del Vaga.

[52] This passage conveys a false impression. The fresco is the celebrated *Scuola di Atene* (School of Athens). This name, like that of the *Disputà*, is comparatively modern. The School of Athens may be considered as an exposition of Greek philosophy. It is to Bellori (*Descrizione delle immagini dipinte da Raffaello nelle camere del Vaticano*, Rome, 1695) that we owe the first complete explanation of the picture. The composition includes the whole *filosofica famiglia* of Dante (*Inferno*, IV., 134–144).

The history of the School of Athens is more obscure than is that of the *Dis-*

the world, arranged in different groups, and occupied with various disputations. There are certain astrologers stand-

putà, and the existing studies made for it are far less numerous; "it came," say Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, "without any of the tentative efforts which preceded and marked the progress of the *Disputà;*" these authors only mention a few drawings for it existing in Oxford, Windsor and elsewhere; the great cartoon is now in the Ambrosiana of Milan and is in a badly damaged condition.

In the *Sala della Segnatura* we suddenly return to the great allegorical frescoes of the *trecento*. The pictures upon the walls of the Spanish Chapel of S. Maria Novella in Florence, of the Palace of Siena, are here invested with the perfected science of the great epoch. Raphael, like other painters of the time, went to the poets and humanists for the intellectual scheme of his compositions. Dante has furnished his part, Petrarch through his Triumphs has given a point of departure, Marsilio Ficino in his commentaries has been a *vade mecum*, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle note Sidonius Apollinaris as a source of inspiration, and Richardson (*Traité de la Peinture*, Amsterdam 1722) mentions a letter which one of his friends had seen from Raphael to Ariosto asking assistance in regard to the Theology (*La Disputà* "*par rapport aux caractères des personnes qu'il devait y faire entrer.*") In addition to all this we must not forget that Castiglione, Bembo, Bibbiena and other scholars stood at Raphael's elbow eager to give counsel and assistance.

As to the scenic distribution: Raphael supposes the spectator to be placed in the axis of a huge vaulted building in which the imaginary reunion of the Greek philosophers is supposed to take place. Charles Blanc remarks that as no one figure in so great an assembly should dominate, so no "figure is placed upon the median line which passes between Plato and Aristotle, the two geniuses who will forever dispute the empire of souls, because one personifies sentiment, the other reason." The splendid architectural setting of the fresco is undoubtedly due to Bramante, and counts, think some critics, among the latter's excellent works. A cartoon for this School of Athens without the architecture, is in the Ambrosian Library of Milan; the portraits of Raphael and Perugino (?) are also absent from the cartoon. Charles Blanc thought that he had discovered the prototype of the ordering of the School of Athens in the scene of the Queen of Sheba before Solomon, a *bas-relief* in one of Ghiberti's gates of the Baptistery of Florence. See Charles Blanc's letter to M. Müntz, published in the latter's *Raphaël*. Herr Franz Wickhoff also refers to this relief. Taine, in his *Voyage en Italie*, says eloquently: "Those groups on the steps above and around the two philosophers never did and never could exist, and it is for this very reason that they are so fine. The scene lies in a superior world, one which mortal eyes never beheld, a creation wholly of the artist's imagination. . . . It is like a dream in the clouds. As with all the figures of an ecstatic vision or in reveries, these may remain in the same attitudes indefinitely. Time does not pass away with them. The old man erect in a red mantle, and the adjoining figure regarding him, and the youth writing might thus continue forever. All is well

ing apart who have made figures and characters of geomancy and astrology,[53] on tablets which they send by beautiful angels to the evangelists, who explain them. Among the figures in the painting is Diogenes with his cup ; he is lying on the steps, an extremely well-imagined figure, wrapt in his own thoughts, and much to be commended for the beauty of the form and characteristic negligence of the garments. There are likewise Aristotle and Plato in this work, the one with the Timæus, the other with the Ethics in his hand : around them is gathered in a circle a large school of philosophers. The dignity of those astrologers and geometricians who are drawing various figures and characters with the compasses on a tablet, is not to be described :[54] among these is the figure of a youth of the most graceful beauty, who extends his arms in admiration and inclines his head, this is the portrait of Federigo, second Duke of Mantua, who was at that time in Rome.[55] There is also a figure stooping to the ground and drawing lines with a pair of compasses which he holds in his hand ; this is said to be the architect Bramante,[56] and is no less life-like than that

with them. Their being is complete ; they appear at one of those moments which Faust indicates when he exclaims : 'Stand ; ye are perfect.'"

[53] Geometrical and astronomical figures rather.

[54] Raphael confounded Ptolemy the Geographer with Ptolemy the King of Egypt, and gave him a crown.

[55] Here Vasari was evidently mistaken ; Federigo II. was not born until 1500 and did not obtain his title until 1519 (see below). A boy standing behind the figure of an Arab (the so-called Averrhoes of the composition) perhaps represents the little prince, not duke, Federigo. See Passavant, II., p. 82, note 1, or perhaps the long-haired boy beside the figure writing is Federigo Gonzaga. From a letter recently discovered in the Mantuan archives, cited by Mrs. Henry Ady (Raphael in Rome, London, 1895), we learn that this boy, who was a pet of t! e Pope's, was introduced into the fresco at the Pope's express wish. The tall youth in the white mantle edged with gold is believed to be Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, who visited in Rome in 1510 with his bride, Eleanora Gonzaga. He was the friend and patron of Raphael, and was a nephew of Julius II.

[56] This figure represents Archimedes. It is very possible that Raphael may have painted Bramante here, for although the features do not exactly correspond with the portrait of Bramante on one of Caradosso's medals, they yet resemble them quite enough to make the supposition reasonable.

of Federigo previously described, or than it would be if it were indeed alive. Beside him is one whose back is turned towards the spectator, and who holds a globe of the heavens in his hand: this is the representation of Zoroaster; and near to this figure stands that of Raphael himself, the master of this work, drawn by his own hand with the aid of a mirror; a youthful head of exceedingly modest expression wearing a black cap or barrett, the whole aspect infinitely pleasing and graceful.[57]

It would not be possible to describe the beauty and nobility of character which the master has imparted to the heads and figures of the Evangelists; there is a certain air of meditative thought and attentive consideration on the countenances, more especially of those who are writing, which is depicted with the utmost truth. This may be more particularly remarked in a St. Matthew, who is copying the characters from the tablet which an angel holds before him, these he is setting down in a book. Behind him is an old man who has placed a paper on his knees, and in this he is inserting what St. Matthew [58] writes, as the latter makes his extracts from the tablet: intent on his occupation, he remains in this inconvenient attitude, and seems to be twisting his head and jaws as if to accompany the movements of his pen. And to say nothing of all these well-con-

The subject of the portrait of Bramante is discussed in F. A. Gruyer's *Raphaël peintre de portraits*, I., pp. 472–479. In his edition of 1568 Vasari used this portrait of Bramante at the head of the life of the architect.

[57] The figure of Raphael is in the corner of the picture to the right. Morelli believes that the man in white with a white cap next to him is not Perugino, as is generally supposed, but Sodoma. Dr. Bode is of the same opinion. M. Müntz, however, shows that at this time, Sodoma, who decorated the ceiling of the *Camera*, was only thirty-five years old, and thinks that his physiognomy had nothing in common with the man whom Raphael painted. Without direct evidence the matter cannot be decided, but even if the face be older if compared with Bazzi's portrait of himself at Monte Oliveto, it suggests Sodoma both in features and in the thrusting forward of the head on the shoulders and certainly does not resemble Perugino's portrait of himself in the *Sala del Cambio*.

[58] Vasari here makes the same mistake as when he speaks of the Evangelists, see note 53. The figure called St. Matthew is Pythagoras.

sidered minutiæ, of which there are nevertheless very many, the composition of the whole work displays so much beauty of proportion and such perfection of arrangement in every part, that the master did indeed give a notable example of his capabilities therein, and clearly proved himself to be one who had resolved to maintain the undisputed possession of the field against all who handled the pencil; furthermore the artist adorned this work with fine perspective views of magnificent buildings and with numerous figures, all finished in a manner so delicate and harmonious, that the excellence of the work caused Pope Julius to have all the stories of the other masters, whether old or new, destroyed at once, resolving that Raphael alone should have the glory of seeing his works preferred to all that had been done in paintings of that description up to his own time.

Above the painting by Raphael, here described, was a work by Giovanni Antonio Sodoma, of Vercelli,[59] and which ought to have been destroyed in obedience to the commands of the Pope, but Raphael nevertheless determined to retain the compartments as he found them, and to use the arabesques which Giovanni Antonio had employed as decorations; there were besides four circular divisions, and in each of these Raphael depicted a figure, having relation to the picture which was immediately beneath it. In the first of these circular compartments, which is above the picture wherein the painter has delineated Philosophy, Astrology, Geometry, and Poetry,[60] forming a union with Theology, is a female figure representing Knowledge: on each side of this figure, which is seated, is a statue of the goddess Cybele, with the form of breast usually attributed by the

[59] On the ceiling; see the life of Sodoma in Vol. IV. of the present work.

[60] The allegorical figure of Theology is over the *Disputà*. See note 62. It bears the inscription: "*Divinar*[UM] *rer*[UM] *notitia.*" At the side of the Poetry are two winged genii who hold tablets on which is inscribed "*Numine afflatur.*" (See the Æneid, *lib.* VI., ver. 50.) The Philosophy is above the School of Athens. The genii bear tablets on which are inscribed "*Causarum cognitio.*" The Justice is the weakest of the series and may have been painted by a pupil. With it are the words "*Jus suu*[M] *unicuiq*[UE] *tribuit.*"

ancients to Diana Polymastes ; the vestments are of four colours, to indicate the four elements ; from the head downwards they are flame colour, to intimate fire ; beneath the girdle is the colour of the air ; from the lap to the knees is that of earth ; and the remainder to the feet has the colour of water ; these figures are accompanied by very beautiful boys.

In another circle, that turned towards the window which looks upon the Belvedere, is depicted Poetry, represented under the form of Polyhymnia ; she is crowned with laurel, in one hand she holds the antique lyre, and has a book in the other, the limbs are crossed, and the face, which is of superhuman beauty, is turned upwards with the eyes raised to heaven. This figure also is accompanied by two boys, who are full of life and spirit ; these children assist to form with her, as do those attending on the other figures, a group of richly varied beauty ; and on this side Raphael afterwards painted the Mount Parnassus over the above-mentioned window.

In the circle which is over the picture wherein the holy doctors are reading mass, is a figure of Theology, with books and other objects around her, accompanied in like manner by the boys, which are no less beautiful than those before referred to ; above the other window which looks towards the court, is placed the figure of Justice, in the fourth circle namely ; she bears the balance in one hand and holds the sword raised aloft in the other ; the boys are with her as with the previously cited figures, and are of supreme beauty. On the wall beneath is represented the delivery of the civil and canon law, as will be related in its due place.

In the angles of the ceiling Raphael likewise executed four historical pictures, designed and coloured with extraordinary care, but the figures are not of a large size ; in one of these, that next the Theology, the master has depicted the sin of Adam in eating the apple, and this he has executed in a very graceful manner. In the second, which is above the Astrology, is the figure of that Science ; she

is assigning their due places to the planets and fixed stars.[61] In the one belonging to the Mount Parnassus is the figure of Marsyas, fastened to a tree, and about to be flayed by Apollo; and near the picture which represents the promulgation of the Decretals, is the judgment of Solomon, when he decides that the infant shall be divided between the contending mothers. All these four delineations exhibit much thought and feeling; they are admirably drawn, and the colouring is pleasing and graceful.[62]

But having now finished the description of the vaulting or ceiling of that apartment, it remains that we declare what was executed on each wall consecutively, and beneath the works indicated above. On the side towards the Belvedere, where are the Mount Parnassus [63] and the Fountain of Heli-

[61] The Natural Science or Astronomy is sometimes called Fortune.

[62] These works are pictorial precursors of the great frescoes on the adjacent walls, that is to say, The Temptation refers to the *Disputà*, The Marsyas to the Parnassus, The Judgment of Solomon to the Jurisprudence, and the Astronomy to the School of Athens. Perkins notes that this separation of the allegorical figures from the wall frescoes is admirable and avoids the confusion consequent upon mixing up real and symbolic persons as Rubens did in the Marie de' Medici series in the Louvre. Monochromes in the form of reliefs were painted under the fresco of the Parnassus, the subjects being the Poems of Homer laid in the tomb of Achilles and Augustus saving the Æneid from the fire. Such at least has been the explanation of these subjects until lately, but Herr Franz Wickhoff, in his *Bibliothek Julius II.*, refers them to another source, namely, to a story in Valerius Maximus, which relates the preservation of the Latin books by order of the Roman consuls, and the burning of the Greek books, as they were of less service to religion. The legend is dwelt upon in the *proëmio* to some theological writings of Sixtus IV., printed 1472, by Filippo da Lignamine. If Herr Wickoff's interpretation is correct, the frescoes are, therefore, an eulogy of the ancestor (uncle) of Pope Julius and a warning to the student to prefer religion to philosophy, and they would thereby, says a reviewer, stand as a refutation of those who declare that humanism triumphs "even in the house of the Pope."

[63] The Parnassus is from the nature of its subject (which to the three remaining frescoes, says Perkins, is as Beethoven's "Pastoral" to his other symphonies) less monumentally grand than are the *Disputà* and the *Scuola*. It is also on the whole less skilful, the standing figures of the Muses being weaker than anything in the other frescoes. Although the composition is, taken altogether, symmetrical and architectural, these standing Muses are more confused and more scattered than Raphael's figures are apt to be; individually also they are far inferior to the reclining Sappho in the foreground, or to the

con, the master depicted a laurel grove of very deep shadows, and the verdure of the foliage is so finely painted that the spectator almost fancies himself to perceive each separate leaf trembling in the gentle breeze : innumerable figures of naked Loves,[64] with inexpressibly beautiful countenances, are hovering in the air, they are gathering branches of the laurel wherewith they weave garlands, which they then throw down and scatter on the mount, over which there does of a truth seem to be the spirit of the divinity breathing, such is the beauty of the figures, and the noble and elevated character of the whole picture, which awakens admiration and astonishment in all who behold it, when they consider that the human mind and mortal hand, with only the simple means of imperfect colours, and by the help of excellent drawing, has made a picture which appears as if it were alive. The figures of the Poets also, distributed over the mount, are all most truly animated. Some are standing, others seated, some are writing, or speaking, or singing, others are conversing together in groups of four or six, accordingly as it has seemed good to the master to arrange them. In this portion of the work there are portraits[65] of the most

grand women of the Jurisprudence (or of Santa Maria della Pace). Their heads too seem topless and all mask, and have about them more than a suggestion of the type of the eighteenth century. They fall below the grand style which animates everything else in the room and makes the rest of the Parnassus splendid. Many studies and drawings for the work exist in Oxford, the British Museum, Windsor, Vienna, Lille, etc., and some of them are more interesting than are the individual figures of the fresco.

[64] Vasari has described, not the fresco, but an engraving of it by Marco Antonio, which contains the figures of the Loves and in which Apollo holds a lyre. In the fresco the naked Loves do not exist, and the god plays upon a viol. It is probable that Vasari, writing in Florence, used the print to aid his memory, and forgot the differences. Passavant and Grimm thought that this engraved plate of Marco Antonio was a forerunner of the fresco. Dr. Springer and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Raphael, II., p. 78), believe, on the contrary, that it is later than the fresco and contains at most reminiscences of earlier studies. For a reproduction of the engraving, see the Vicomte H. Delaborde, *Marc Antoine Raimondi*, p. 25.

[65] Vasari's so-called portraits are of course idealizations, except the traditional representations of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and the possibly genuine portrait of Ariosto, since the latter poet twice visited Rome at about the time

renowned poets, ancient and modern, including among the latter several who had lived or were living at Raphael's own time: some of the older poets were taken from statues, some from medals, many from old pictures; and others, who had lived in his own day, were taken from nature by Raphael himself. To begin with the one end, we have here the portraits of Ovid, Virgil, Ennius, Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, and Homer: the last named, blind and with the head elevated, is pouring forth his verses, while there is a youth seated at his feet who writes them as he sings. There is also in one group Apollo[66] with the Nine Muses; and in all these figures there is so much beauty, their countenances have an air of so much divinity, that grace and life seem to breathe from every feature. There is here portrayed the learned Sappho, and the most divine Dante; the graceful Petrarch, and the gay * Boccaccio, who are all most truly animated and life-like. Tebaldero[67] is also here, with many other modern writers, who

of the painting of the *Stanze*. For detailed notes upon these figures, see F. A. Gruyer's *Raphael peintre de portraits*, Vol. I. This author does not agree to Bellori's claim in his *Descrizione* that a laurelled figure near the Virgil represents Raphael himself.

* *L'amoroso* Boccaccio means the amorous, not the gay Boccaccio.

[66] In the engraving of Marco Antonio, Apollo holds a lyre, in the fresco a violin. Certain critics believe that Raphael introduced the violin at the Pope's suggestion, as a compliment to Giacomo San Secondo, a famous *improvisatore* and violinist of the papal court. They go even so far as to consider the Apollo a probable portrait of the *virtuoso*. That the face is his portrait is possible rather than probable. What is probable is that Raphael found the violin the worthiest of instruments, and what is certain is that he knew it to be the most pictorial, the most admirably conducive to the movement and composition of his picture, for the pictorial comes even before the intellectual expression with any true composer, and no truer composer than Raphael ever lived. Pinturicchio in the Borgia apartments, Lo Spagna at La Magliana, afforded him a precedent, had any been needed, for the use of the violin in a fresco.

[67] A painting in the Scarpa collection at Motta di Livenza has passed for years as the portrait of Antonio Tebaldeo, of Ferrara, by Raphael. Morelli (Italian Painters, I., p. 43, note) stated his conviction that this picture was, on the contrary, a portrait of Raphael Sanzio himself, at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven years, painted by Sebastian del Piombo, who at one time was Raphael's friend and admirer. Quite recently the Scarpa collection was sold, and an

are grouped with infinite grace and and painted with extraordinary care.

On one of the other sides the master has depicted Heaven,[68] with Christ and the Virgin, San Giovanni Battista, the Apostles, the Evangelists, and the Martyrs, all enthroned amid the clouds; and above them is the figure of God the Father, who sends forth his Holy Spirit over them all, but more particularly on a vast company of Saints, who are celebrating the mass below, and some of whom are in disputation respecting the Host, which is on the altar.[69] Among

eager competition for the portrait resulted in its purchase for 135,000 *lire* by the Countess de Chevigné; the Gallery of Buda-Pesth will eventually possess it. (See G. Frizzoni, *La Pinacoteca Scarpa di Motta di Livenza*, in the *Archivio Storico dell' arte*, 1895, pp. 410–418). Dr. Frizzoni, while hazarding no positive assertion, admits the remarkable resemblance of the subject of the portrait to the engraved portraits of Raphael by Marco Antonio Raimondi and Marco Dente, in which engravings, as in this picture by Piombo, the person represented wears a slight beard. Dr. Frizzoni adds that whomsoever it may represent, the picture has a mysterious charm which sets it in the ranks of the masterpieces of Italian art.

[68] This fresco, which was the first that Raphael painted in the Vatican, dates from 1509 and is called the *Disputà*. Properly speaking there could be no dispute regarding such a well-established dogma as that concerning the Blessed Sacrament, but the Italian word *Disputà* has the sense of discussing as well as contesting. Various interpretations have been given of the subject; probably the best is that it is a Glorification of the Christian Faith. Passavant calls attention to the fact that the figures in the top of the composition are disposed as in the frescoes of Orgagna in the Campo Santo and in those of Fra Angelico and Fra Bartolommeo, and critics have observed that the majestic ordering of the main masses appear to have been suggested by the curved mosaics of apses of basilicas.

No better example than this of Raphael's magnificent compositional intuition could be found. The mosaics of early churches are architectonically decorative beyond anything in later art. The arrangement of such mosaic is already suggested in Fra Bartolommeo's Last Judgment and in the Christ in Glory of San Severo. In the *Disputà*, Raphael, who saw *everything* through the medium of art and made every material serve its purpose, seems to have said to himself, "I will build as severely as a Byzantine, but with human figures only, and will make a semi-dome of my heaven, which shall curve as grandly as any apsis." The result is an effect of monumental composition which could not be repeated without mannerism, but which as a single example is unsurpassed.

[69] Over thirty studies for the *Disputà* exist in Frankfort, Oxford, the Louvre, Chatsworth, Pesth, Vienna, the British Museum, Montpellier, etc.

these are the four Doctors of the Church, who are surrounded by numerous saints,[70] San Domenico namely, with San Francesco, St. Thomas Aquinas, SS. Bonaventura, Scotus, and Nicolaus of Lyra; Dante, Fra Girolamo Savonarola of Ferrara, and all the Christian theologians are also depicted, with a vast number of portraits from the life. In the air above are four Children, who are holding open the four Gospels: these are figures which it would not be possible for any painter to surpass, such is their grace and perfection. The Saints are seated in a circle in the air, and not only does the beauty of the colouring give them all the appearance of life, but the foreshortenings, and the gradual receding of the figures, are so judiciously managed, that they could not appear otherwise if they were in relief; the draperies and vestments are richly varied, and the folds are

Some of them are superb, and in these early sketches Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (Raphael, II, pp. 31–32) see evidences of a careful study, and assimilation of the character and poses in Leonardo da Vinci's Adoration of the Magi, although in his final result Raphael has recast all in a mould which is really his own. The first sketches show that Raphael represented the Church Triumphant, but that this idea was afterwards modified. The new church of St. Peter's had just been begun, and in the midst of the colossal marble blocks Raphael placed the figures of the *Disputà*. Herr Grimm suggests on this account that the fresco was intended as a glorification of the great undertaking of Pope Julius. His conjecture has been accepted by many critics. This placing the scene in the foundations of the church was, however, an afterthought, as the first sketches show no sign of such an intention.

Bramante was painted by Raphael as the figure leaning on the balustrade in the left foreground. It has been remarked as surprising that Raphael should have placed Savonarola, who was burnt only eleven years before, among the defenders of the faith. His Florentine sojourn with the followers of the Frate (Lorenzo di Credi, Botticelli and, above all, Fra Bartolommeo) may have borne this fruit of reparation to the great Dominican monk, and Raphael stood in no danger of papal disapproval, for Savonarola was condemned by a Borgia, and Julius hated everything that Alexander VI. had done.

Raphael has dressed his attendant genius of the *Disputà*, the Theology who sits above upon the vaulting, in the symbolical colors worn by Dante's Beatrice (see Rio), and the poet himself stands in the part of the foreground of the lower painting on the right.

[70] Dürer completed his "All Saints," or Landauer Altar-piece, now in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, at about this time, and a comparison of it with the *Disputà* is interesting, as the subjects are very similar, while the artistic treatment is of course wholly different and national in either case.

of infinite grace, the expression of the countenances moreover is celestial rather than merely human. This is more particularly to be remarked in that of the Saviour, which exhibits all the mildness and clemency of the divine nature that could possibly be presented to the human eyes by a mere painting. Raphael was indeed largely endowed with the power of imparting the most exquisite expression to his faces, and the most graceful character to the heads of his pictures : of this we have an instance in the Virgin, who with her hands crossed on her bosom, is regarding her divine Son, whom she contemplates with an expression which implies her perfect assurance that he will not refuse forgiveness. There is, moreover, a certain dignity in the figures of this master with a characteristic propriety, which is without doubt most beautiful ; to the holy Patriarchs he gives the reverence of age, to the Apostles the earnest simplicity which is proper to their character, and the faces of his Martyrs are radiant with the faith that is in them. But still more richly varied are the resources of art and genius which this master has displayed in the holy Doctors, who are engaged in disputation, and are distributed over the picture in groups of six, four, or two. Their features give token of a certain eager curiosity, but also of the earnest desire they feel to discover the precise truth of the matter in question : this is made further manifest by the action of the hands and by various movements of the person, they bend the ear with fixed attention, they knit the brow in thought, and offer evidence, in their looks, of surprise, or other emotions, as the contending propositions are presented ; each in his own peculiar manner, but all with most appropriate as well as beautiful and varied expression. Distinguished from the rest are the four Doctors of the Church, who, being illuminated by the Holy Spirit, resolve and explain, by the aid of the Holy Scriptures, all the difficulties presented by the gospels, which the boys who are hovering in the air hold before them.[71]

[71] M. Müntz says in his *Raphaël :* "Such is the celebrated composition

On the third side of this apartment, that namely wherein is the other window which looks upon the court, Raphael painted, on the one part, Justinian, who is giving the laws to the Doctors for revisal,[72] with figures of Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence above;[73] on the other, the Pope[74] who delivers the Decretals or canon laws;[75] and in this pontiff Raphael has depicted the portrait of Pope Julius; he has likewise executed portraits from the life of the Cardinal-vicar, Giovanni de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Leo X., of Cardinal Antonio di Monte, and the Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who ultimately became Pope Paul III., with those of many other personages.[76]

The pope was highly satisfied with all that was done; and

which passes by right for the highest expression of Christian painting—for the most perfect *résumé* of fifteen centuries of faith comprised between the frescoes of the Catacombs and those of the Florentine realists. The *Disputà* is more than a *chef-d'œuvre:* it marks a decisive date in the development of the human mind."

[72] Justinian entrusts the Roman Code to Trebonian.

[73] The perfect master of linear composition never showed his mastery more perfectly than in this admirable *lunette* of Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude. Every line in the work has compositional meaning and the whole is a sermon upon artistic combination. The *putti* are introduced with particular happiness as connecting motives in the construction of the group. The individual figures, besides the forceful elegance found in nearly all Raphael's figures of the *Camera della Segnatura*, have also a subtile elegance of outline not always present in the other works. They stand somewhere between his delicate earlier works and his massive sibyls of the Pace.

[74] Gregory IV., who presents the Decretals to a jurist.

[75] This fresco of the Decretals together with that of the Justinian symbolizes the administration of Ecclesiastical and Secular Law. In the fresco of the Decretals (1511) Julius appears with a beard. It is said that he vowed to go unshaven until the French should be expelled from the Peninsula. This work was evidently influenced by Melozzo da Forli's fresco in the Vatican, the Confirmation of Platina as Guardian of the Vatican Library. For detailed matter regarding it see F. A. Gruyer's *Raphaël peintre de portraits*, I., p. 358 *et seq.*

[76] Raphael painted Julius II. and Leo X. several times. Julius II. in the fresco of the Decretals, in the Heliodorus, in the Mass of Bolsena and in the Uffizi portrait. He painted Leo X. as cardinal, in the Decretals, as Pope and again as cardinal in the fresco of the Attila, in the Fire in the Borgo, in the Justification of Leo III., in the Defeat of the Saracens and in the Coronation of Charlemagne. Raphael's famous panel picture of Leo X. in the Pitti is

to the end that the wood-work of the apartment should be worthy of the paintings, he caused Fra Giovanni of Verona to be summoned from the convent of Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri, a monastery in the territory of Siena ; Fra Giovanni was a renowned master in works representing perspective views of buildings, formed of woods inlaid ; and he not only prepared the wainscot around the room, but also made very beautiful doors and seats, richly decorated in the perspective ornaments for which he was famed, and which acquired for him very great honour, with much favour from the Pope, who rewarded him very liberally.

It is indeed certain that in works of this kind there has never been a more able master than Fra Giovanni, a fact to which we have testimony still in his native city of Verona ; this is presented by the Sacristy of Santa Maria-in-Organo, which is most beautifully adorned with inlaid work representing views in perspective. The choir of Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri affords another proof of his skill, as does that of San Benedetto di Siena : the Sacristy of Monte Oliveto di Napoli was in like manner adorned by Fra Giovanni, and in the same place is the Chapel of Paolo da Tolosa, which that master also decorated in wood work. By all these labours he obtained much honour from those of his order, by whom he was ever held in the highest estimation until his death, which took place in 1537, when he had attained the age of sixty-eight. Now of this master, as of a person who was truly excellent and remarkable in his art, I have thought it well to make mention thus far, for it appears to me that his talent has well merited so much, seeing that we are indebted to it for the fine works that were afterwards executed by many other masters, to whom Fra Giovanni laid open the way, as will be related in the proper place.[77]

But to return to Raphael. His powers now became de-

referred to in note 109. For details concerning these and other portraits by Raphael see F. A. Gruyer's *Raphaël peintre de portraits*, Paris, 1881, an important work in two volumes.

[77] Fra Giocondo was also an architect, and the campanile of S. M. Organo is attributed to him. Much of Fra Giocondo's wood-work is still in existence.

veloped to the utmost, and he received a commission from the Pope to paint a second room in the Vatican; that towards the great hall namely. At this time, also, our artist, who had now acquired a very great name, depicted the portrait of Pope Julius himself.[78] This is an oil painting, of so much animation and so true to the life, that the picture impresses on all beholders a sense of awe as if it were indeed the living object: this portrait is now preserved in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, together with a very beautiful Madonna, executed at the same time by the same master. In the last named picture, which represents the Nativity of Christ, the Virgin is covering with a veil her divine Child; the expression of whose countenance is of such wonderful beauty, and his whole person so clearly demonstrates the divinity of his origin, that all must perceive him to be truly the Son of God. Nor are the attitude and countenance of the Madonna less beautiful, they exhibit the perfection of grace with an expression of mingled piety and gladness. There is also a St. Joseph standing with both his hands supported on a staff, and contemplating the King and Queen of Heaven, with the adoration of a most righteous old man. Both these pictures are exhibited to the people on all occasions of solemn festival.[79]

There are beautiful stalls in Verona and at Monte Oliveto Maggiore, but his work in the *Camera della Segnatura* was replaced by monochrome paintings of Perino del Vaga (or Polidoro). Passavant gives a list of the paintings substituted. See also G. Franco, *Di Fra Giovanni da Verona e delle sue opere*, Verona, 1863.

[78] The original of this famous and admirably characterized portrait was executed in 1511 and stood in the church of S. Maria del Popolo. To-day no one can say with entire certainty whether it still exists or whether the various *repliche* of the Pitti, Uffizi, and National Gallery are all copies. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle hold that only the cartoon of the Corsini Palace is an original. This cartoon has been greatly injured by the holes pricked for pouncing upon canvas. M. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 400, mentions the fact that the criticism of twenty years ago pronounced the portrait in the Pitti to be the original, and has now veered over to the acceptance of the Uffizi picture. He points a moral which emphasizes the fallibility of expertism. For details regarding the whereabouts of the cartoon at various dates see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II., p. 103, note.

[79] This passage is supposed to refer to the Madonna di Loreto. In this

Raphael had at this time acquired much fame in Rome, but although he had the graceful manner which was held by every one to be most beautiful, and saw continually before his eyes the numerous antiquities to be found in that city, and which he studied continually, he had, nevertheless, not yet given to his figures that grandeur and majesty which he always did impart to them from that time forward. For it happened at the period to which we now refer, that Michelangelo, as we shall furthermore set forth in his life, had made such clamours in the Sistine Chapel, and given the Pope such alarms, that he was compelled to take flight and sought refuge in Florence.[80] Whereupon Bramante, having the key of the chapel, and being the friend of Raphael, permitted him to see it, to the end that he might understand Michelangelo's modes of proceeding.[81] The sight thus afforded to him caused Raphael instantly to paint anew the figure of the prophet Isaiah,[82] which he had executed in the

picture, which is known by many copies, the Virgin is not covering the child with a veil, as is stated by Vasari, but is raising the veil under which Christ is sleeping. It is generally believed by critics that the original of the Madonna di Loreto is lost, and it is usually stated that it disappeared in the days of the French Revolution; but from evidence collected by Professor Vögelin, of Zürich (*Die Madonna von Loretto*), it would appear that it was lost much earlier, and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in their Raphael, II., p. 108, say the original cannot be traced after 1615. Perhaps the best example of this subject was the picture brought in 1857 from Florence to Rome by Sir Walter Kennedy Laurie. It was pronounced genuine by the Accademia di San Luca. See Wolzogen, p. 105, English edition, and the *Augsburg Allegemeine Zeitung*, July 30, 1857. M. Gruyer, *Les Vierges de Raphael*, III., p. 321, declines to recognize it as an original.

[80] The account of the quarrel as related above is substantially the same as that published by Vasari in his Life of Michelangelo in the edition of 1550, but in the subsequent edition he assigned the flight to an earlier period (*vide* life of Michelangelo in Vol. IV.), and only added a mention of the disagreement in the chapel as a secondary and purely hypothetical reason for the sculptor's leaving Rome. In the second edition Vasari apparently forgot that he had changed the story in the Life of Michelangelo, and reprinted the incident unchanged in the Life of Raphael.

[81] This alleged stealthy visit was unnecessary, as the first half of the frescoes was exhibited to the public in the summer (August) of 1511. The last half was opened to view on November 1, 1512.

[82] This work still exists *in situ*; it was probably executed in 1512. Dehio, in

Church of Sant' Agostino, above the Sant' Anna of Andrea Sansovino, although he had entirely finished it ; and in this work he profited to so great an extent by what he had seen in the works of Michelangelo, that his manner was thereby inexpressibly ameliorated and enlarged, receiving thenceforth an obvious increase of majesty.

But when Michelangelo afterwards saw the work of Raphael, he thought, as was the truth, that Bramante had committed the wrong to himself of which we have here spoken, for the purpose of serving Raphael, and enhancing the glory of that master's name.

No long time after this, Agostino Chisi,[83] a very rich merchant of Siena, who was a great admirer of all distinguished men, gave Raphael a commission to paint a chapel. This he did because, some short time previously, the master had produced a fresco of the most exquisite beauty, in a Loggia of his palace,[84] in the Trastevere, now

the *Kunstfreund* (1885, No. 4), attempts to prove by ingenious arguments that the Isaiah was not executed by Raphael, but M. Müntz is inclined to accept the simple statement of Vasari. If the Isaiah was executed in 1512, as we have reason to believe, Raphael had undoubtedly seen the Prophets in the Sistine Chapel. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle discuss at length, *op. cit.*, II., pp. 177–178, the question of whether Raphael did or did not see Michelangelo's Ezekiel and Isaiah of the Sistine Chapel before he painted his own fresco of the latter prophet. At the side of Raphael's Isaiah is a *putto*, which exists again in *replica* in the Academy of San Luca, in Rome. The latter *putto* (of the *replica*) was once one of the supporters of an escutcheon of Julius II. painted by Raphael in the *Camera* called that of Innocent VIII. in the Vatican. This *putto*, although only a fragment of a decorative detail, is thoroughly characteristic of Raphael, and battered, scratched, restored, and distorted as it is, still remains a work of great beauty and thoroughly in the grand manner of Raphael's Roman epoch.

The Isaiah was painted at the request of John Goritz, of Luxembourg, a well-known friend of the humanist's. For the observances on St. Anne's day at the villa of Goritz see Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Raphael, II., p. 177. The Isaiah was subsequently "dressed" by Daniello da Volterra and has otherwise suffered great injury.

[83] Chigi rather. According to M. I. Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs Italiens*, Raphael's acquaintance with Chigi began in 1510, when he designed two bronze salvers for the banker. For the present condition within and without of the building which was the Chigi Bank, see D. Gnoli, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., pp. 172–175.

[84] Now Villa Farnesina.

called the Chisi ;[85] the subject of this is Galatea in a car on the sea drawn by two dolphins and surrounded by Tritons and different marine deities.[86] Having made the cartoon for the above named chapel, which is at the entrance of the Church of Santa Maria della Pace, on the right as one enters by the principal door, the master executed it in fresco, and in his new manner, which was somewhat grander and more majestic than the earlier one. In this

[85] Chigi.

[86] Raphael painted the Galatea in 1514 for Agostino Chigi, the subject being based upon a poem of Poliziano, *Stanze per la Giostra del Magnifico Giuliano de' Medici*. Nothing more conclusively proves the greatness of Raphael than the way in which his power and charm show through the repaintings, coarsened outlines, and brutally altered color of this masterpiece. Here he translates Theocritus and Apuleius more truly than could the most learned humanist. Here the *cinquecento's* love of antiquity finds its truest expression, and this painter of Madonnas and of saints feels the old Greek joy of life, so that the dry wall, for all its chalky color, shows to us the sea with its salt strength, the freedom of brown, bare limbs, the clouds and the breeze and white foam on blue water.

The following letter of Raphael relates in part to the Galatea.

To Count Baldassar Castiglione.

"Signor Count : I have made several designs for the subject suggested by your lordship. They satisfy all who see them, if all are not flatterers ; but they do not satisfy my own wish, because I fear they will not satisfy yours. I send them to you, that your lordship may choose one of them, if any one seems worthy to you. Our Lord [*Nostro Signore*, the Pope] in doing me honor, has placed a heavy weight upon my shoulders. It is the superintendence of the building of St. Peter's. I hope indeed that I shall not fall under this burden, the more that the model which I have made pleases his lordship and is praised by many men of notable capacity. But I look higher still. I wish to rediscover the beauty of antique buildings, but do not know if my flight will be that of Icarus. Vitruvius gives me great help, but not as much as I could wish. As for the Galatea, I should hold myself to be a great master if there were in it half the good things your lordship writes of. But I can see in your expressions the love you bear me : as to painting a beautiful woman, I ought in order to do that to see many beauties and to have you at my side to help me choose. But since good judgment and beautiful women are scarce, I work from a certain mental ideal which I have (*di certa Idea, che mi viene al mente*). Whether this ideal have in it anything excellent I know not ; at least I struggle hard to achieve excellence. Your lordship may command my service."

"At Rome."

This letter was first published in 1582 by Bernardino Pini, afterwards by Bottari and others. Signor Venturi believes that some literary friend, perhaps

picture Raphael painted some of the Prophets and Sybils, before Michelangelo had thrown open the chapel, which he had nevertheless seen, as has been related ;[87] and of a truth, these figures are considered to be the best, and among so many beautiful the most beautiful, seeing that in the women and children represented, there is the very perfection of truth and animation ; the colouring, moreover, is faultless. This work caused the master to be most highly extolled, both during his life and after his death, being, as it was, the most remarkable and most excellent one that Raphael ever executed. Raphael being earnestly entreated by a chamberlain of Pope Julius II. to paint the picture for the high altar of the chapel of the Ara Cœli, he therein depicted the Madonna, reposing on the clouds of heaven, and with San Giovanni, San Francesco, and San Girolamo, robed in the vestments of a cardinal, in a beautiful landscape beneath. In this virgin there is the expression of a modesty and humility truly worthy of the Mother of Christ: the divine Child, in an attitude of exquisite beauty, is playing with the mantle of Our Lady ; the form of San Giovanni

Aretino, among whose manuscripts in Venice it was found, wrote the letter for Raphael. The allusion to the works on St. Peter's dates it from about the summer of 1514. For details regarding the condition and restorations of the fresco of the Galatea see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, p. 210, note. M. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 503, cites Signor Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi, il Magnifico*, Rome, 1881, the *Farnesina-studien* of R. Förster, Rostock, 1880, and M. Charles Bigot's work, *Raphael et la Farnesine*, Paris, 1884. We may add *La Farnesina* of Signor A. Venturi, Rome, 1890, and also M. Gruyer's *Raphael et l'Antiquité*.

[87] In the Life of Michelangelo, Vasari says the Prophets and Sibyls of S. M. della Pace were painted *after* the chapel had been shown to the public. Vasari quite often contradicts himself in this way. He repeats the same story in the life of Sebastian del Piombo, but in the life of Timoteo Viti qualifies it by saying that the Sibyls were by Viti. The following is the passage : "In the company of his master he worked in the church called 'della Pace,' where he painted the Sybils of the *lunettes* to the right of the church, with his own hand, and those figures, so highly esteemed by all painters, are of his own invention also. There are persons still surviving who remember to have seen Timoteo working on these Sybils, and the fact that they were executed entirely by himself, is shown by the Cartoons, which are still in the possession of his successors." Morelli, with strong and well-reasoned arguments, has combated this story that Timoteo worked upon the frescoes.

gives clear proof of the fasting to which his penitential discipline has subjected him, while in the expression of his countenance, one reads the sincerity of his soul, together with a frank and cheerful serenity, proper to those who, far removed from the influence of the world, look down on it with contempt, and in their commerce with mankind, abhorring all duplicity, devote themselves to the promulgation of truth. The head of San Girolamo is raised, his eyes are fixed on the Virgin, whom he is regarding earnestly. And in the eyes thus raised there are to be perceived all that learning and wisdom which are made manifest in his writings. With a movement of both the hands he is in the act of recommending the chamberlain to the protection of Our Lady; and the figure of that chamberlain in actual life is scarcely more animated than the one here painted. Nor is there less of truth and nature in the San Francesco; he is kneeling on the earth, with one arm extended, and the head raised as he turns his gaze aloft, towards the Madonna; he is depicted with a glow of pious affection in his countenance, every line of which is beaming with the holiest emotion. The features and complexion show that the saint is consuming away in pious resignation, but is receiving comfort and life from the most gentle and beautiful looks of the Mother, as well as from the sovereign loveliness of the divine Child. In the centre of the picture and immediately beneath the Virgin, is a boy, his head is raised towards Our Lady, and he bears a tablet in his hands. It is not possible to imagine any thing more graceful or more beautiful than this child, whether as regards the head or the rest of the person. There is besides a landscape of singular beauty, and which is executed to the highest perfection in every part.

Raphael then continued his work in the chambers of the Vatican,[88] where he depicted the Miracle of the Sacrament,

[88] The distribution of the room called the *Camera d' Eliodoro* is as follows: Upon the vaulted ceiling are: God appearing to Noah, The Sacrifice of Abraham, Jacob's Dream, God appearing to Moses in the burning bush. Upon the two walls which are pierced with windows appear the Miracle of Bolsena and the Liberation of Peter; upon the clear walls are Heliodorus driven from

or the Corporas of Bolsena, whichever it may be called. In this story, the Priest who is reading the Mass is seen to have his face glowing with the shame which he felt, when in consequence of his own unbelief, he beheld the Host bleeding on the Corporas, as a reproof for his want of faith; terrified at the looks of his hearers, he has lost all self-possession, and is as a man beside himself; he has the aspect of one utterly confounded, the dismay that has seized him is manifest in his attitude, and the spectator almost perceives the trembling of his hands; so well are the emotions inevitable from such a circumstance expressed in the work.[89]

the Temple, the meeting of Attila and Pope Leo I. Upon the walls below the great frescoes are caryatides, eleven allegorical, and four terminal figures, as also eleven little monochrome pictures referring to the industrial prosperity of the States of the Church. These decorations of the base of the walls have been repainted by Carlo Maratti and his pupils, but still show the composition of Raphael. See Passavant, *op. cit.*, II., p. 135.

If the *Stanza della Segnatura* may be called the Apotheosis of the Renaissance, the *Stanza d' Eliodoro*, commenced during the lifetime of Julius II. and finished under Leo X., may pass for that of the Papacy. Having celebrated the large and tolerant civilization of the epoch of the Renaissance in the *Scuola*, the *Disputà*, the Parnassus, the pope now celebrated the Church, and by an easy progression celebrated *himself*. The Expulsion of Heliodorus allegorizes the military ambition of Julius, Heliodorus standing for the foreign invader of Italy; the Mass of Bolsena again, in glorifying the faith, very naturally shows the pontiff as supreme assistant. Critics have severely condemned this egoism, but it was natural and the sequence was logical. It is true that Julius should have rather celebrated Constantine, or Gregory, but Raphael painted in and for his own epoch, and for all his political blunders Julius was the great pope of the Renaissance. Herr Hettner has even declared (*Italienische Studien*) that this and the future decoration of the Vatican gravitated about the Lateran Council of 1512–17 as about a compelling influence. See also Anton Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo*, and E. Müntz, *Raphael*, pp. 370–371.

[89] It is believed that Raphael executed the greater part of the Mass of Bolsena with his own hand. The fresco, which is almost without *tempera* touches, is dated 1512.

The miracle which this picture commemorates is said to have taken place during the pontificate of Urban IV., in 1263. In commemoration of the same the great festival of Corpus Domini was instituted in 1264. The superb cathedral of Orvieto was erected as a memorial of the miracle in 1280, but the festival was not, however, generally celebrated until 1310.

It was rarely given to even Raphael to paint such a masterpiece as the Miracle of Bolsena, and in its treatment it is a marking instance of the qual-

Around the priest are many figures of varied character; some are serving the Mass, others kneel, in beautiful attitudes, on a flight of steps, and moved by the novelty of the occurrence, exhibit their astonishment and emotion in divers gestures, some giving evidence of a desire to acknowledge themselves guilty of error, and this is perceived in men as well as in women. Among the latter is one at the lower part of the picture, seated on the earth and holding a child in her arms; she is listening while another relates the circumstance that has just happened to the priest; full of wonder she turns towards the speaker with a feminine grace and animation that is truly characteristic and lifelike. On the other side is the Pope, Julius II., who is hearing the Mass, an admirable part of the work, and here Raphael has depicted the portrait of the Cardinal di San Giorgio,[90] with a vast number of other personages, also from the life. The break caused by the window was turned to account by the master, who having there represented an ascent in the form of a flight of stairs, thus makes the paintings on each side into one sole picture, nay, he has even made it appear that

ity which was one of Raphael's leading characteristics, perhaps the very first of all his characteristics, his marvellous power of assimilation. He instantly saw, and but a little later translated into his own language of expression, whatever noble or beautiful thing came under his eyes in the work of a predecessor. Here in this *camera* of Heliodorus, in the very midst of impressions derived from the antique and from Michelangelo, he turns backward and applies "the grand manner" to the quiet, dignified art of the fifteenth century. In the Mass (or Miracle) of Bolsena the serious, upturned profiles of Ghirlandajo's people of the Sassetti Chapel and of Santa Maria Novella are seen again, his white-gowned acolytes of San Gimignano crowd about the ministrant priest, but all sublimated by the art of Raphael into a real apotheosis of the painting of the *quattrocento*.

If there were no architecture around it the Mass of Bolsena would still be a beautiful picture, but in its accordance with the circumscribing architectural forms it is especially a magnificent composition. Compositionally again it affords the finest instance among Raphael's works of the balance of simple and elaborated masses in accordance with the law of filled and vacant spaces. Besides all this, among the frescoes of Raphael it is by far the best in color; a Venetian need not have disclaimed its strength and harmony.

[90] Raffaello Riario; for biographical details see *Rapha l peintre de portraits* of F. A. Gruyer, I., p. 362.

if this opening caused by the window had not been there, the scene could not have been so well arranged. It may indeed with truth be said of Raphael here, as elsewhere, that as respects invention and the graces of composition, whatever the story may be, no artist has ever shown more skill, more readiness of resource, or a more admirable judgment than himself ; a fact of which he has given further proof in this same place, where in the opposite picture he has represented San Pietro thrown into a prison by Herod,[91] and guarded by soldiers. The architectural details here depicted and the simple delineation of the prison, are treated with so much ingenuity that the works of other artists, when compared with those of Raphael, seem to exhibit as much of confusion as do that master's of grace and beauty. Raphael constantly endeavoured to represent the circumstances which he depicted as they are described or written, and to assemble only the most appropriate and characteristic objects in his works, as for example in the picture before us, where he reveals to us the wretchedness of the prison. Bound with chains, that aged man is seen extended between two soldiers ; the deep and heavy sleep of the guards is rendered fully manifest, as the resplendent light proceeding from the Angel illumines the darkness of night, and causes the most minute particulars of the prison to be clearly dis-

[91] This fresco, "*Lo Scarcerazione*," the Liberation of St. Peter, is dated 1514. As in most of the Vatican frescoes of Raphael there is a political allusion ; probably to the Battle of Ravenna and the escape of Pope Leo (then a Cardinal) from the French.

It must be admitted that in this work Raphael somewhat departs from the principles of mural decoration ; first he divides his composition into three distinct incidents ; secondly, in painter's parlance, he breaks a hole through the wall with his violent opposition of lights and shadows. But the work is a *chef d'œuvre*, and the temptation to produce it which overpowered Raphael was here again the probable result of his intensely assimilative nature. Piero della Francesca had frescoed this room before him. Now Piero's vision of Constantine in S. Francesco at Arezzo affords the first instance of a *tour de force* of chiaroscuro ; it is not unlikely that della Francesca had here repeated some such effect, and that Raphael could not resist the opportunity "to better his instructions." As it is, the treatment of chiaroscuro upon so monumental a scale was a daring and successful novelty.

cerned : the arms of the sleepers shine so brilliantly, that their burnished lustre seems rather to belong to things real and palpable, than to the merely painted surface of a picture.

No less remarkable are the art and ingenuity displayed in another part of the same picture ; that namely where, freed from his chains, the Apostle walks forth from his prison, accompanied by the Angel. In the countenance of St. Peter there is evidence, that he is as a man who feels himself to be acting in a dream, and not as one awake. Equally well expressed are the terror and dismay of those among the guards, who, being outside the prison, hear the clang of the iron door ; a sentinel with a torch in his hand, awakens his sleeping companions ; the light he holds is reflected from their armour, and all that lies within the place which the torch has not reached is lighted by the Moon. This admirably conceived picture Raphael has placed over the window, at the darkest part of the room ; it thus happens that when the spectator regards the painting, the light of day strikes on his eyes and the beams of the natural light mingle and contend with the different lights of the night as seen in the picture, the observer fancies himself really to behold the smoke of the torch, and the splendour of the Angel, all which, with the dark shadows of the night, are so natural and so true, that no one would ever affirm it to be painted, but must believe it to be real, so powerfully has our artist rendered this most difficult subject. The play of the shadows on the arms, the flickering reflections of the light, the vaporous haloes thrown around the torches, the dim uncertain shade prevailing in certain parts ; all are painted in such a manner, that contemplating this work one cannot but declare Raphael to be indeed the master of all masters. Never has painting which purports to counterfeit the night been more truly similar to the reality than is this, which is of a truth a most divine work, and is indeed admitted by common consent to be the most extraordinary and most beautiful of its kind.

On one of the unbroken walls of the chamber, Raphael then depicted the worship of God as practised among the Hebrews, with the Ark and golden candlesticks; here also is the figure of Pope Julius, who is driving the avaricious intruders from the Temple.[92] In this work, which is of similar beauty and excellence to the night-piece described above, several portraits of persons then living are preserved to us in the persons of the bearers[93] who support the chair wherein Pope Julius is borne along; the figure of the Pontiff is most life-like. While the populace, among whom are many women, make way for his Holiness to pass, they give to view the furious approach of an armed man on horseback; he is accompanied by two others who are on foot, and together they smite and overthrow the haughty Heliodorus, who, by the command of Antiochus, is about to despoil the Temple of all the treasures deposited for the widows and orphans.[94] The wares and treasures are already in process of being borne away, but the terror awakened by the new occurrence of Heliodorus, struck down and scourged by the three figures above-mentioned, who are seen and heard by himself alone, being only a vision, causes those who are bearing the spoils away to let all drop from their hands, while they themselves fall stumbling over each other, possessed as they are by a sudden affright and horror which had fallen on the followers of Heliodorus. Apart from these stands the High Priest, Onias, in his pontifical robes, his hands and eyes are raised to heaven, and he is praying most

[92] The "Expulsion of Heliodorus (II. Maccabees, iii.)," was painted in 1512. The allusion is political, referring to the struggles of Louis XII. of France and Julius II.

[93] Bottari affirms that the foremost of the bearers are Marcantonio the copper-plate engraver and Giulio Romano; Morelli, on the contrary, considers that it is not Giulio but rather Baldassare Peruzzi who is painted. See Italian Painters, Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle note that the prostrate figure of Heliodorus is not a reminiscence of Michelangelo as has been affirmed, but is partly a souvenir of the antique and partly a still more direct inspiration from Leonardo da Vinci's wounded captain in the Battle for the Standard.

[94] See II. Maccabees, chapter iii. verse 21 and following.

fervently, being moved to compassion for the poor, whom he has beheld on the point of being despoiled of their possessions, but is yet rejoiced at the succour which he feels that Heaven has sent to them. With felicitous invention Raphael has placed various figures about the different parts of the building, some of whom climb on the socles of the columns, and clasping the shaft, thus stand, maintaining themselves with difficulty in their inconvenient position, to obtain a better view of the scene passing before them; the mass of the people meanwhile, astounded at what they behold, remain in divers attitudes awaiting the result of the wondrous event.[95]

[95] It has been noted that in comparison with the *Sala della Segnatura* we find in the *Camera* of Heliodorus an unfortunate narrowing of subject. This is, however, not half so important or half so unfortunate as the *expansion of methods* shown here, which resulted in the confiding of a great part of the work upon the walls to pupils. But this expansion, like the narrowing, was inevitable. Every one wanted Raphael's work, the Pope, Chigi, Conti, Bembo, Bibbiena, Goritz. No man could say no to the pope, even the stubborn Michelangelo yielded when Julius threatened to throw him from the scaffold, least of all could Raphael say no to anyone. His was not a weak character, but the very nature which made him seize upon the pictorial qualities of other men's work impelled him to adopt with equal eagerness the pictorial suggestions of his friends. He instantly apprehended their thought, developed it and could not help wishing to materialize it. For such materialization time could not suffice unless Raphael had a score of hands. He soon had them—two of his frescoes in the *Camera* of Heliodorus and the Madonna of Foligno are said to have been painted within fourteen months! The result of this was that the distribution of the second *Stanza* was admirable, the composition in the main magnificent, the execution utterly unequal, the room remaining thus inferior to the *Sala della Segnatura*.

The superb Mass of Bolsena was probably painted by Raphael himself. The Heliodorus shows at once Giulio Romano's bricky-reds and the bright colors of Giovanni da Udine; the chemically disintegrated color of portions of the fresco is repulsive, the outlines are coarse, the limbs heavy, but the work is grand in spite of it all with the spirit of Raphael and of the best years of the sixteenth century. Although the execution is pupils' work, Raphael's Giulio of Rome is a very different man from Gonzaga's Giulio of Mantua. The faces of the avenging angels are beautiful and noble, in spite of a conventionalizing of thick curved lips, a certain lumpishness of pseudo-Grecian noses, and upon the scowling forehead of his horseman, the rudiments of the grimace which Giulio afterwards constantly reproduced in his Palazzo del T. In the fresco of Heliodorus we have Raphael's work hindered but not spoiled by pupils; in the battle of Ostia they have completely

The whole of this work was so admirably executed in every part that even the Cartoons were very highly estimated. Messer Francesco Masini, a gentleman of Cesena, who without any master, but impelled from childhood by the love of art, has produced many paintings and works in design, has certain pieces of the Cartoon which Raphael prepared for this story of Heliodorus still in his possession ; they are treasured with all the esteem which they so truly merit, among the various antiquities in marble, rilievi and others, which he has collected ; his own pictures and designs are also of such merit, that many, well acquainted with art, have bestowed on them the highest commendations. Nor will I omit to mention that Messer Niccolò Massini, from whom it is that I have received intelligence of these things, is himself a sincere lover of our arts, as he is the friend of all other good and praiseworthy endeavours.

But to return to Raphael. In the ceiling above these works he delineated four pictures : the subject of the first being the appearance of the Almighty Father to Abraham,[96] to whom he promises the continuation of his race ; that of the second, the sacrifice of Isaac ; and of the third, Jacob's

denaturalized it, and in the rectangular ceiling of the Farnesina have destroyed it. There are studies for the frescoes of the *Camera d'Eliodoro*, in Oxford, the Uffizi, the British Museum, Berlin (Savigny collection), the Louvre, Vienna, and Windsor. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II., pp. 138–142, notes.

[96] To Noah rather ; the frescoes of the vaulting symbolize the power of the Church and are also precursors of the frescoes on the walls. They were probably largely by the hand of Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni. The panelling of the room was also decorated with *intarsiatura* by Fra Giovanni da Verona, and Perino del Vaga completed the decorations by painting Caryatides, etc., in chiaroscuro. There are six small pictures in *grisaille* in the window recesses, the subjects of which are: Joseph before Pharaoh; the Passing of the Red Sea ; Moses receiving the tables of the law ; the Annunciation ; a Pope celebrating Mass, and the Emperor Constantine giving the city of Rome to Pope Sylvester. They were partly repainted by Carlo Maratti in 1702–1703. The pictures upon the *socle* or base to the wall also contain allusions to the rule of Leo X. They represent Religion, Law, Peace, Protection, Nobility, Commerce, Naval Affairs, Navigation, Plenty, Cattle-breeding, Agriculture, and Grape-gathering. They are all represented by female figures with attributes. They are greatly injured and some were completely repainted by Carlo Maratti and his pupils in 1702–1703.

dream; while the fourth represents Moses standing before the burning bush. In this work, the knowledge of art, rich power of invention, correct design, and exquisite grace which distinguish our artist, are no less manifest than in the others whereof we have made mention.

And now, when the happy genius of the master was effecting such wonders, the envy of fortune deprived of life that pontiff who was the especial protector and support of such talent, while he was the zealous promoter of every other good and useful work. Julius II. died,[97] but was succeeded by Leo X., who forthwith commanded that the labours commenced should be continued. The genius of Raphael was now exalted to heaven, and he received innumerable proofs of favour from the new pontiff, fortunate in having encountered a prince so great, and one on whom the love of art had devolved by hereditary descent.

Thus encouraged, Raphael devoted himself with all his heart to the work, and on another wall of the same apartment, he represented the Approach of Attila towards Rome,[98] and his encounter with Pope Leo III. by whom he is met

[97] He died February 13, 1513, and we can well believe that the event caused no little anxiety as well as grief to the artists of the papal court and to the many others who could not tell whether his successor would continue the great works of the dead pope. Already on January 19 we hear of Raphael sending home the jeweled cap and brocaded cloak of the little prince Frederick of Mantua, and begging Isabella d'Este to pardon him for desisting from his work, since for the time he had "no courage to go on with her son's portrait."

[98] The Attila was commenced during the lifetime of Julius II., but was only about half finished at the death of that pontiff, it was painted in allusion to the papal quarrels with France. Leo X. appears twice, once as a cardinal riding behind the pope (this figure having been painted before the death of Julius) and again instead of the portrait of Julius II. originally planned, we have the reigning pontiff as St. Leo. A pen sketch in the Louvre shows Julius in the place afterwards occupied by Leo; in this sketch the pope is borne in a chair instead of on horseback as in the fresco. Herr Springer and J. C. Robinson have doubted the authorship of this design but M. Müntz is convinced that it is by Raphael.

The Attila was largely executed by pupils and is very inferior to the other frescoes of the *Stanze*, the color is confused and disagreeable, possibly from the action of time, but what is much more singular, the composition has little of the beauty and dignity which are found in the other frescoes, the arrange-

at the foot of Monte Mario,[99] and who repulses him by the power of his word * alone. In this picture, Raphael has shown San Pietro and San Paolo appearing in the air with swords in their hands, with which they come to defend the church. It is true that the History of Leo III. says nothing of such an occurrence, but so Raphael has chosen to represent it, perhaps as a mere fancy; for we know that painters and poets frequently permit themselves a certain degree of freedom for the more effectual decoration of their works, and this they may do without any undue departure from the propriety of the original thought. In the two apostles thus depicted, there is all that holy zeal and dignity which the Divine Justice frequently imparts to the countenances of those among God's servants, whom it has commissioned to become the defenders of the most holy faith. The effect of this expression on Attila is manifest in his face. He is riding on a fiery black horse, having a star on the forehead, and beautiful as it is possible that a horse could be; the attitude of the animal also betrays the utmost terror, its head is thrown aloft, and the body is turning in the act of flight.

There are other magnificent horses in the same work, among them a Spanish jennet, ridden by a figure which has all the parts usually left nude covered with scales in the manner of a fish; this is copied from the column of Trajan, the figures of the people around that column being armed in this fashion; such defences being made, as is conjectured, from the skins of crocodiles. Monte Mario is seen burning, as an intimation that on the departure of soldiery, the dwellings are constantly given as a prey to the flames. Certain mace-bearers belonging to the papal retinue are

ment being (relatively) monotonous. Certain individual figures are very fine, but some of the horses are not merely theatrical but absurdly unreal.

* Read blessing for word.

[99] The numerous errors into which Vasari has here fallen, are in part attributable to the Florentine historian, Villani (see *lib.* ii. *cap.* 3). The meeting with Attila took place on the river Mincio, near Mantua, and the Pontiff was not Leo III. but Leo the Great, the first of the name.—Mrs. Foster's Notes.

painted with extraordinary animation, as are the horses which they are riding: the same may be said of the court of Cardinals, and of the grooms who bear the canopy over the head of the pontiff. The latter, Pope Leo X., is on horseback, in full pontificals, and is no less truthfully portrayed than are the figures before mentioned. He is followed by numerous courtiers, the whole scene presenting an extremely beautiful spectacle, in which all is finely appropriate to its place, and these details are exceedingly useful to those who practise our art, more particularly to such as are unprovided with the objects here represented.

About the same time a picture was executed by Raphael for Naples, and this was placed in the church of San Domenico, and in that chapel wherein is the crucifix which spoke to St. Thomas Aquinas. In this work, Raphael depicted Our Lady, San Girolamo, clothed in the vestments of a cardinal, and the angel Raphael, who is serving as the guide of the youthful Tobit.[100] For Leonello da Carpi, Lord of Meldola, who is still living, and has attained the age of more than ninety years, he painted a picture, the colouring of which is most admirable, and the beauty of the whole work very remarkable; it is indeed executed with so much force, and in a manner so exquisitely graceful withal, that I do not think the art could possibly produce or exhibit a finer work. There is a divinity in the countenance of Our Lady, and a modest humility in her attitude, than which it would not be possible to conceive anything more beautiful. The master has depicted her with folded hands, in adoration of the divine Child, who is seated on her lap, and is caressing a little St. John; the latter is also adoring the Redeemer: the figures of St. Joseph and St. Elizabeth complete the group. This picture was formerly in the

[100] This is the *Madonna del Pesce* (of the Fish) now in the Prado at Madrid. It was painted in 1512 or 1513 on wood and was afterwards transferred to canvas. The Tobit with the fish was very appropriate, as the picture was originally placed in a chapel much resorted to by persons afflicted with diseases of the eyes. A fine red-chalk study for the picture is in the Uffizi.

possession of the most reverend Cardinal da Carpi, son of the above-named Signor Leonello, a very zealous admirer of our arts ; it must now be in that of his heirs.[101]

When Lorenzo Pucci, Cardinal of Santi Quattro, was created High Penitentiary, he caused Raphael, who was in great favour with him, to paint a picture for San Giovanni-in-Monte, at Bologna. This is now placed in that chapel wherein are deposited the relics of the Beata Elena dall' Olio, and serve to show what grace united with art could effect, when acting by the most accomplished and most delicate hand of Raphael.[102] The subject of the work is Santa Cecilia, listening in ecstacy to the songs of the angelic choir, as their voices reach her ear from heaven itself: wholly given up to the celestial harmony, the countenance of the saint affords full evidence of her abstraction from the things of this earth, and wears that rapt expression which is wont to be seen on the faces of those who are in ecstacy. Musical instruments lie scattered around her, and these do not seem to be merely painted, but might be taken for the real objects represented.[103] The same thing may be affirmed

[101] Passavant, II., p. 122, states that the Holy Family in the Museum of Naples is the picture referred to here, and M. Müntz appears to accept the statement.

[102] This picture is one of Raphael's most famous works. It was painted in 1516 and is now in the Academy of Bologna. Marco Antonio's engraving of an early composition for the Saint Cecilia is reproduced in Müntz's *Raphaël*, p. 555. The story regarding the origin of the commission for this picture is curious. In 1513 a noble Bolognese lady, Elena Duglioli dall' Olio, who was born and died in the same years as Raphael and who was afterwards beatified, was ordered in a vision to consecrate a chapel to Saint Cecilia in the church of San Giovanni in Monte near Bologna. Her relative, the Florentine Antonio Pucci, built the chapel, and Lorenzo Pucci, Cardinal of Santi Quattro, ordered the picture of Raphael.

The story is that Pucci's voice was so bad that it provoked laughter even in the Sistine Chapel while he was celebrating mass. He implored the intercession of Saint Cecilia and "she inspired a master of the Sistine Choir to cure his defects in six months' lessons." See Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Raphael, II., p. 375.

[103] The following is a passage from Vasari's life of Giovanni da Udine: "Now Raphael very highly estimated the abilities of Giovanni da Udine, and when occupied with that picture of the Santa Cecilia, now in Bologna, he

of the veil and vestments, formed of cloth of gold and silver, with which Santa Cecilia is clothed, and beneath which is a garment of hair-cloth, also most admirably painted. In the figure of St. Paul likewise, the power and thought of the master are equally obvious: the saint is resting the right arm on his naked sword, the head is supported by the left hand, and the pride of his aspect has changed to a dignified gravity; the vestments of St. Paul consist of a simple cloth mantle, the colour of which is red, with a green tunic beneath, after the manner of the apostles; his feet are bare. St. Mary Magdalen also forms part of the group, and holds a vase, made of a very fine marble, in her hand. The attitude of this figure is singularly graceful, as is the turn of her head; she seems to rejoice in her conversion, and I do not think it would be possible that any work of the kind could be more perfectly executed. The heads of St. Augustine and of St. John the Evangelist, which are both in this picture, are of equal excellence. It may indeed with truth be declared that the paintings of other masters are properly to be called paintings, but those of Raphael may well be designated the life itself, for the flesh trembles, the breathing is made obvious to sight, the pulses in his figures are beating, and life is in its utmost animation through all his works.

This picture secured the author many commendations and a great increase of fame insomuch that numerous

caused Giovanni to paint the organ which is in the hand of that saint; this the latter copied from the instrument itself, and with such good effect that his work does really appear to be a relief: he also painted the other musical instruments which are at the feet of Santa Cecilia, and, what is of more importance, he brought his own manner herein to so close a similitude with that of Raphael, that the whole work appears to have been executed by one hand."

The St. Cecilia is the picture which is said to have caused Francia to die of grief over his own inferiority to Raphael. That he felt his inferiority is possible enough; that he felt the weight of his sixty-seven years in the mid-winter of 1513 is fairly certain. A true artist such as Francia was would have been stimulated rather than hurt by seeing the St. Cecilia. See the Life of Francia, Vol. II., p. 313.

verses, both in Latin and the vulgar tongue, were composed to his honor; of these I will but insert the following, that I may not make a longer story than is needful :—

> *"Pingant sola alii, referantque coloribus ora;*
> *Cæciliæ os Raphael atque animum explicuit."*

At a later period our artist painted a small picture, which is now at Bologna, in the possession of the Count Vicenzio Ercolani. The subject of this work is Christ enthroned amid the clouds, after the manner in which Jupiter is so frequently depicted, but the Saviour is surrounded by the four Evangelists, as described in the book of Ezekiel.[104] One in the form of a man, that is to say; another in that of a lion; the third as an eagle; and the fourth as an ox. The earth beneath exhibits a small landscape, and this work, in its minuteness—all the figures being very small—is no less beautiful than are the others in their grandeur of extent.

To Verona Raphael sent a large picture of no less excellence, for the Count of Canossa. The subject is the Nativity of Our Lord, admirably treated, the day-break in particular, as here portrayed, has been highly commended, and the same may be said of the figure of Sant' Anna and indeed of the whole work, which one could not extol more effectually than by the simple assertion, that it is by the hand of Raphael da Urbino. The Counts hold this picture in the highest estimation, as it well deserves; very great sums have been offered to them for it by different princes, but they have never been prevailed on to part with it.[105]

[104] This is the Vision of Ezekiel now in the Pitti and measuring only 18½ by 13½ inches in size. It is truly magnificent in spirit and in style but rather coarse in execution and the carrying out of the work is generally accredited to Giulio Romano. The Jehovah is a Zeus, but the assumption of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle that the distribution is adopted from the group of the Farnese bull (which had been recently discovered) seems rather far-fetched. M. Müntz says well of this "Vision" that it deserved to be translated into mosaic in the apse of some grand basilica. The date of the picture is not known with certainty; conjecture points at some time shortly after the execution of the St. Cecilia and that of the *Spasimo di Sicilia*.

[105] This Nativity, painted in 1513 for the Count of Canossa, has been identi-

For Bindo Altoviti, Raphael executed a portrait of himself when he (Bindo) was still young, and this work also has obtained, as it merits, the highest admiration.[106] He also painted a picture of the Madonna for the same person, who despatched it to Florence: this is now preserved in the Palace of the Duke Cosimo: it has been placed in the Chapel of the new apartments, which have been built and painted by myself, where it serves as the Altar-piece: the subject is Sant' Anna,[107] a woman much advanced in years, who is seated with the infant Christ in her arms; she is holding him out to the Virgin, and the beauty of his nude figure, with the exquisite loveliness of the countenance which the master has given to the divine Child, in such that his smile rejoices the heart of all who behold him. To Our Lady also, Raphael has imparted all the beauty which can be imagined in the expression of a virgin; in the eyes there is modesty, on the brow there shines honour: the nose is one of very graceful character, and the mouth betokens sweetness and excellence. In the vestments, also, there is

fied with the Madonna of the Pearl in the Museum of Madrid. It is said that Philip IV. of Spain, whose ambassador purchased the picture of Cromwell, exclaimed upon seeing it, "This is my pearl," thus giving the name *La Perla* to a picture which is perhaps overrated. Morelli attributes the execution of it as well as that of the Madonna della Rosa in the same Museum of Madrid to Giulio Romano.

[106] Now in the Munich Gallery, Rumohr (*Italienische Forschungen*, III., p. 109) considered this picture to be Raphael's portrait of himself. Bottari, Mariette, and H. Grimm were of the same opinion. Missiri, Lanzi, Passavant, Müntz, and Springer, on the contrary, assert that it is the portrait of Altoviti. The picture has very recently been cleaned and the "violet-red flesh-tints" which have proved such a fertile source of controversy among art critics have entirely disappeared, thus confirming Morelli's belief that the tone of coloring of the face was due to the hand of a picture restorer. Morelli, in his revised edition of Italian Masters in German Galleries entitled Italian Painters—Critical Studies of Their Works—The Galleries of Munich and Dresden, does not think that it is by Raphael or even of the School of Raphael; Dr. Bayersdorffer, the inspector of the Munich Gallery, accredits the work to Giulio Romano.

At all events it is a distinguished and beautiful portrait, thoroughly the type of head which Raphael (whether he was its author or not) liked to paint, and well fitted to be the face of the chivalrous Altoviti.

[107] Santa Elisabetta rather.

an indescribable simplicity with an attractive modesty, which I do not think could possibly be surpassed ; there cannot, indeed, be anything better of its kind than is this whole work : there is a beautiful figure of the little San Giovanni undraped in this picture, with that of another saint, a female, which is likewise very beautiful. The background represents a dwelling, in which there is a window partially shaded, through which light is given to the chamber wherein the figures are seated.[108]

In Rome, Raphael likewise painted a picture of good size, in which he represented Pope Leo,[109] the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and the Cardinal de' Rossi. The figures in this work seem rather to be in full relief, and living, than merely feigned, and on a plane surface. The velvet softness of the skin is rendered with the utmost fidelity ; the vestments in which the Pope is clothed are also most faithfully depicted,[110] the damask shines with a glossy lustre ; the furs which form the linings of his robes are soft and natural, while the gold and silk are copied in such a man-

[108] This is the *Madonna dell' Impannata*, now in the Pitti Gallery. It is so named from the window in the background which is *impannata*, that is, covered with an oiled-linen pane in place of glass. The handling of Giulio Romano is apparent, the coloring is very disagreeable, and the authenticity of this picture has been questioned by Passavant and others.

[109] It is now in the Pitti palace and was painted in 1518. Beside the qualities of style, character, and dignity which are found in most of Raphael's portraits, the Leo possesses other qualities unusual to his work. Vasari has noted the expression of surface texture in the brocade, metal, etc , and his admiration is not to be wondered at, for texture as shown by brush handling had hardly been attempted up to this time in Tuscan art. Again the working out of a scale of one color is novel to the time, and as always, when it is skilfully managed, is impressive. Here the scale is of red, scarlet, crimson, purple, brown, the only opposition being the white brocade. It is quite possible that this was not a deliberate compositional choice on the part of Raphael and that it was imposed by the papal costume, throne-chair, and surroundings, but at least there is compositional arrangement and selection, since Raphael must have been free to add other colors but has omitted them.

[110] The story is told of this, as of so many pictures, that it was mistaken for the Pope himself. See also the interesting anecdote relating to del Sarto's copy of the portrait given in Vasari's life of that artist in this volume. The Pope's "*specillum*" or "*cristal concava*" is shown in the picture; Leo's sight was so bad as to require the use of an eyeglass.

ner that they do not seem to be painted, but really appear to be silk and gold. There is also a book in parchment decorated with miniatures, a most vivid imitation of the object represented, with a silver bell, finely chased, of which it would not be possible adequately to describe the beauty. Among other accessories, there is, moreover, a ball of burnished gold on the seat of the Pope, and in this —such is its clearness—the divisions of the opposite window, the shoulders of the Pope, and the walls of the room, are faithfully reflected; all these things are executed with so much care, that I fully believe no master ever has done, or ever can do any thing better. For this work, Raphael was richly rewarded by Pope Leo. It is now in Florence, in the Guardaroba of the Duke. He also painted the portraits of the Duke Lorenzo and of the Duke Giuliano, whom he depicted with that perfection and that grace of colouring which is to be seen in no other than himself. These works belong to the heirs of Ottaviano de' Medici, and are now in Florence.[111]

The fame of Raphael continued to increase largely, as did the rewards conferred on him; wherefore, desiring to leave a memorial of himself in Rome, he caused a palace to be erected in the Borgo Nuovo, which was decorated with stucco work by Bramante.[112] The renown of this most

[111] It is supposed that these portraits are lost. Several old copies exist. See Milanesi, IV., p. 353, note 1.

[112] Lafreri in 1549 published an engraving of this palace with the legend *Raph, Urbinat, ex lapide coctili Romae extructum.* It is true that it was built of brick, but Bramante was the architect and did not merely decorate it "with stucco." Marco Antonio Michieli (*l'Anonimo*) says Raphael bought it of Bramante for 3,000 ducats. In it the painter passed his busiest years, and in it he died. But Professor Adamo Rossi has discovered (see *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1888, *La Casa e lo Stemma di Raffaello*) in the Archivio Urbano of Rome documents proving that this house, which stood on the Borgo Nuovo, at the corner of the Piazza di S. Giacomo, was bought by Raphael from the Caprini of Viterbo in 1517; that is to say, three years after Bramante, the architect, died. Professor Rossi has also brought to notice among certain manuscripts of Domenico Alfani in the Communal Library of Perugia, a drawing which he made in 1581, of a part of the *façade* of this Casa di Raffaello, and a second drawing of the escutcheon or arms of Raphael,

noble artist having been carried, by the fame of these and other works, into France and Flanders, Albert Dürer, a most admirable German painter, and the engraver of most beautiful copperplates, sent a tribute of respect to Raphael from his own works, a head, namely, which was his own portrait, executed on exceedingly fine linen, which permitted the picture to appear equally on both sides, the lights not produced by the use of whites, but transparent, and the whole painted in water colours. This work was much admired by Raphael, who sent a number of his own drawings to Albert Dürer,[113] by whom they were very highly estimated.

which were carved and painted above the door. Notes are written about the drawing of the escutcheon, giving the colors, etc., and underneath is inscribed "the arms of the most famous and excellent painter Raphael of Urbino, whose worth and fame are noted by all the world." "*Arme del famosisimo et ecellenttisimo Pittore Rafaello da Vrbinno il chui uallor e fama e notto a ttutto il Mondo.*" Sig. Domenico Gnoli, a diligent explorer of the quarter of the Borgo Nuovo (see his various articles) had measured the palace of the Convertendi (in the Borgo Nuovo) believing that is was the actual Casa di Rafaello. A fresco of about 1585, showed, however, that the *façade* of the said Convertendi Palace corresponded in that year with its present day appearance. Critics felt it to be unlikely that Bramante's or Raphael's *façade* should have been already altered in 1585, and therefore refused to believe the Casa di Raffaello to be identical with the Convertendi palace. The measurements, however, of the latter were found by Sig. Gnoli to exactly tally with those of the architectural drawings for the original exterior of the Caprini palace. This in itself was almost confirmation of Sig. Gnoli's theory, and the discovery by Professor Rossi of Alfani's drawing, locates Raphael's palace as exactly upon the site of the Convertendi. Sig. Pietro Carnevale, the architect, has been deputed by the government to ascertain how much of the interior arrangement of the palace is old, and may refer to Raphael's time, and how much is later. For good reasons why the escutcheon drawn by Alfani should really be that of Raphael, see Sig. Gnoli's article *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1888. March 24, 1520, thirteen days before he died, Raphael bought another palace in the Via Giulia, then a quarter of princely houses, where, however, two artists, Antonio da San Gallo and Caradosso the Goldsmith, also had their residences; see Geymüller and Müntz. It has long been believed that Alexander VII. destroyed the palace in the seventeenth century to enlarge the Piazza San Pietro.

[113] Probably no artist, certainly no Italian artist of the Renaissance, admired Dürer more frankly than did Raphael and no one was more capable of appreciating this greatest of German painters. Raphael kept Dürer's works (in engraving and woodcut) about his studio (see Dolce), watched Marco Antonio engrave the "Little Passion," and borrowed the whole composition

The head sent by the German artist, Albert Dürer, to Raphael, was subsequently taken to Mantua among the other possessions inherited from the last named master, by Giulio Romano.[114]

Raphael having been thus made acquainted with the mode of proceeding adopted in his engravings by Albert Dürer, was desirous of seeing his own works treated after that manner; he therefore caused Marco Antonio of Bologna, who was well practised in that branch of art, to prepare numerous studies from them; and in this Antonio succeeded so well that Raphael commissioned him to engrave many of his earliest works, namely, the Slaughter of the Innocents, a Last Supper, the Neptune, and the Santa Cecilia, when she is being boiled in oil.[115] Marco Antonio

of his *Spasimo di Sicilia* from the "Great Passion" of the Nuremburger. A drawing of two nude male figures in the Vienna collection bears the following inscription written in a crabbed hand "1515—Raffahell di Urbino, who is held in such high esteem by the Pope, he made these naked figures and sent them to Albrecht Dürer at Nürnberg to show him his hand." Morelli, Italian Painters, I., p. 143, note 6, says that the drawing is by Giulio Romano and that the inscription is a later addition.

Vasari gives a brief notice of Albert Dürer and Martin Schöngauer in his Life of Marco Antonio, of which the following is a part: "But although these masters were at that time highly prized and commended in those countries, their works are valued among us for the diligence and care to be remarked in the engraving only. I am nevertheless willing to believe that if Albert Durer has not done better, that has perhaps been because for want of better models. He took one or other of his disciples when he had to design the nude form, and these must have had ill-formed figures, as indeed the Germans for the most part have when undressed, although one sees many in those countries who when dressed appear to be very fine men. Albert likewise executed numerous small plates exhibiting figures of peasants and countrywomen in the Flemish costume, some dancing or playing on the bagpipes, others selling poultry or other wares, and some engaged in other occupations. . . . It is indeed certain, that if this man, so highly endowed, so assiduous, and so varied in his powers, had been a native of Tuscany instead of Flanders; had he been in a position which permitted him to study the treasures of Rome, as we are able to do, he would have been the best painter of our country, as he was the best and most renowned that has ever appeared among the Flemings." [Dürer was born in Nuremburg and not in Antwerp, as Vasari supposed.]

[114] This portrait is lost.

[115] Marco Antonio Raimondi, the engraver, was born at Bologna. He was apprenticed to Francia at an early age. He studied the works of Dürer, Lucas

subsequently executed a number of engravings, which were afterward given by Raphael to Il Baviera, his disciple, who was the guardian of a certain lady, to whom Raphael was attached till the day of his death, and of whom he painted a most beautiful portrait, which might be supposed alive.[116] This is now at Florence, in the possession of the good and worthy Botti, a Florentine merchant of that city, who is the friend and favourer of all distinguished men, but more especially of painters ; by him the work is treasured as if it were a relic, for the love which he bears to the art, but more especially to Raphael. Nor less friendly to artists than himself is his brother Simon Botti, who, to say noth-

von Leyden and Schöngauer, and soon became the best copper-plate engraver in Italy. Up to 1510 he was an eclectic, but in that year he journeyed to Rome and at once came under the influence of Raphael, who greatly favored him and allowed him to engrave his drawings. Marco Antonio had little inventive genius though great technical skill, and sunk his identity in copying the works of the great painter. It should be remembered in judging the engravings of Marco Antonio that he worked from Raphael's drawings and not from the finished works; his style was admirably adapted to the reproduction of the works of that master. See *Marc-Antoine Raimondi* by the Vicomte H. Delaborde, Paris, 1888. This author says that the dates of Marco Antonio's birth and death are equally uncertain; 1488 and 1470 are variously given as dates referring to his birth, but M. Delaborde thinks 1480 more probable, and says that Marco Antonio, though Bolognese, was not born in the city of Bologna but in a neighboring village. This critic's monograph contains a large number of reproductions of engravings by the artist, and an important catalogue of his works. The Martyrdom of Saint Cecilia (or Saint Felicitas), painted between 1513 and 1520 for the chapel of the villa of La Magliana, a hunting lodge of Leo. X., was nearly destroyed in 1830. A farmer named Vitelli, not wishing to sit among his servants in the chapel during the celebration of mass, built for himself a tribune (or special pew), the door of which was cut straight through Raphael's fresco. A fresco, also from La Magliana, probably after the design of Raphael and representing God the Father blessing the world, is in the Louvre. See *I. Freschi della villa Magliana di Raffaelle d' Urbino, incisi ed editi da Ludovico Gruner, con descrizione della villa di Ernesto-Platner*, Rome, 1847. There is no certainty regarding Raphael's direct share in any of these frescoes of La Magliana. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think the design for the *lunette* (in the Louvre) of God the Father with angels was made between 1516 and 1520. M. Gruyer finds that these angels are among Raphael's original and very characteristic works.

[116] The so-called *Donna Velata* in the Pitti palace has been a subject for controversy. MM. Müntz, Burckhardt, and Bode think it a copy from

ing of the fact, that he is held by us all to be one of the most friendly among those who benefit our arts, is to myself in particular the best and truest friend that ever the long experience of many years made dear to man : he has besides given proof of very good judgment in all things relating to our own art.

But to return to the copperplate engravings. The favour which Raphael had shown to Il Baviera was afterwards the cause which induced Marco of Ravenna, and many others, to labour in that branch of art ; insomuch, that what was formerly the great dearth of engravings on copper, became eventually that large supply of them which we now find. Hugo da Carpi, moreover, whose fine powers of invention were turned to the discovery of many ingenious and fanciful devices, found out that of carving in wood, in which, by means of three blocks, the light, shadow, and middle tint can equally be given, and drawings in chiaro-scuro imitated exactly. Without doubt a very beautiful and fanciful invention which has since been largely extended, as will be related at greater length in the Life of Marco Antonio of Bologna.

For the Monks of Monte Oliveto, Raphael executed a picture of Christ Bearing his Cross, to be placed in their Monastery at Palermo, called Santa Maria dello Spasmo ; this is considered to be a most admirable work, and is remarkable, among other characteristics, for the force with which the master has rendered the cruelty of the executioners, who are dragging the Redeemer to his death on Mount Calvary, with all the evidences of a furious rage. The

Raphael ; MM. Morelli, Minghetti, Colvin, Springer, and Passavant believe it to be an original. Some of these critics identify it with the picture "in the possession of the good and worthy Botti," and Signor E. Ridolfi has discovered a document of 1619, of a Marchese Botti, bequeathing such a picture to the Grand Duke Cosimo II. as "being by the hand of Raphael." See MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, *Florence*, p. 155. Nearly all of these critics have noted the resemblance of the *Velata* to the Sistine Madonna ; the features are perhaps somewhat alike in the two pictures but the character of the two faces is absolutely different.

Saviour himself, grievously oppressed by the torment of the death towards which he is approaching, and borne down by the weight of the Cross, has fallen to the earth faint with heat and covered with blood ; he turns towards the Maries who are weeping bitterly. Santa Veronica is also among those who surround him, and, full of compassion, she extends her arms towards the Sufferer, to whom she presents a handkerchief with an expression of the deepest sympathy. There are besides vast numbers of armed men on horseback and on foot, who are seen pouring forth from the Gate of Jerusalem, bearing the ensigns of justice in their hands, and all in attitudes of great and varied beauty.[117]

This picture was entirely finished, but had not yet been fixed in its place, when it was in great danger and on the point of coming to an unhappy end. The matter was on this wise : The painting, according to what I have heard related, was shipped to be taken to Palermo, but a frightful tempest arose which drove the vessel on a rock, where it was beaten to pieces, men and merchandise being lost together, this picture alone excepted, which, secured in its packing, was carried by the sea into the Gulf of Genoa. Here it was picked up and borne to land, when, being seen to be so beautiful a thing, it was placed in due keeping, having maintained itself unhurt and without spot or blemish of any kind : for even the fury of the winds and the waves of the sea had had respect to the beauty of so noble a work. The fame of this event was bruited abroad, and the Monks, to whom the picture belonged, took measures to obtain its restoration : in this they eventually succeeded,

[117] This is a picture of Christ falling under the weight of the cross and which is usually called *Lo Spasimo di Sicilia*. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute the greater part of the execution to Raphael himself ; other critics admit the hand of Giulio Romano in parts of the picture and that of Garofalo in the landscape. Morelli gives the entire execution to Giulio. M. Müntz notes that the figure of the Saviour strongly recalls a Christ in a work of Martin Schöngauer of Colmar. This picture has been greatly praised by the early critics, Viardot, and Emériс David, for its force of expression, but this force seems slightly declamatory, and the composition is more crowded and less noble than in many of Raphael's works. It is to be remarked that

though not without great difficulty and only by aid of the Pope, when they largely rewarded those who had effected its recovery from the waves. Being then embarked anew, the picture was ultimately landed in Sicily; the Monks then deposited the work in the city of Palermo, where it has more reputation than the Mount of Vulcan itself.[118]

While Raphael was thus engaged with the works above described, which he could not decline doing, partly because commissioned to execute them by great and important personages, but partly also, because a due regard for his interest would not permit him to refuse them,—while thus occupied, I say, he did not on that account neglect to continue the works which he had commenced[119] in the Papal Halls and Chambers; on the contrary, he kept people constantly employed therein, and by them the work was continued from drawings made by his own hand, every part being minutely superintended by himself, and the more important portions of the whole executed by him, so far as was possible in a work of such magnitude. No long time elapsed, therefore, before he gave to view the apartment of the *Torre Borgia*, on every wall of which he had placed a painting—two over the windows namely, and two on the sides wherein there are no windows. In one of these pictures the master has depicted the Conflagration of the Borgo Vecchio of Rome, which could not be extinguished until Pope Leo IV. presented himself at the Loggia of the Palace, and extinguished it entirely by the power of his benediction.[120] In this work is the representation of many perilous

no Saint Veronica appears in the picture. The *Spasimo* is now in the Museum of Madrid, having been bought from the monks by Philip IV. in the seventeenth century.

[118] Vasari here follows the classical writers who considered Mount Etna as the site of Vulcan's forge.

[119] In 1514.

[120] The *Stanza* of the *Torre Borgia*, called more generally the *Camera dell' Incendio*, was painted 1514–1517, and presents upon the four walls the *Incendio del Borgo*, the Oath of Pope Leo, the Coronation of Charlemagne, and the Battle of Ostia, all by Raphael and his pupils. The vaulting frescoes are by Perugino, and the figures of the protectors of the Church, originally by the

incidents; on one side are women bearing vases of water on their heads and in their hands wherewith to extinguish the flames; the hair and clothing of these figures are blown about by the fury of a tempestuous wind; others, who are attempting to throw water on the burning masses, are blinded by the smoke, and appear to be in a state of bewilderment. At another part of the picture is a group, resembling that described by Virgil, of Anchises borne out of danger by Æneas. An old man being sick, is exhausted by his infirmity and the heat of the fire, and is carried by a youth in whose form the determination and power to save are manifest, as is the effort made by every member to support the dead weight of the old man helplessly hanging in utter abandonment upon his back. He is followed by an old woman bare-foot and with loosened garments, who is rushing in haste from the fire—a naked child goes before them. From the top of a ruined building also, is seen a woman naked and with dishevelled hair, who has an infant in her hands, which she is about to throw down to one of her family; just escaped from the flames, the last-mentioned person stands in the road below raised on the points of his feet and stretching forth his arms to receive the child—an infant in swathing bands, which the woman holds out to him: and here the anxious eagerness of the mother to save her child is no less truthfully expressed than is the suffering which she is herself enduring from the devouring flames glowing around and threatening to destroy her. In the figure of the man who is receiving the child also, there is as clearly to be perceived the anxiety which he suffers in his desire to rescue it, with the fear he entertains for his own life. Equally remarkable is the power of imagination displayed by this most ingenious and most admirable artist in

hand of some pupil, were repainted later by Carlo Maratta. Below the frescoes on the wall are the so-called portraits of sovereigns who have rendered important services to the Church. These portraits are of Constantine, Charlemagne, Ferdinand the Catholic, Lothair, Godfrey de Bouillon, and Aistulf. For interesting technical criticism of the Stanze frescoes see F. Crowninshield, Impressions of a Decorator in Rome, Scribner's Magazine, February, 1893.

a mother, who, driving her children before her, with bare feet, loosened vestments, girdle unbound, and hair dishevelled, bears a part of her clothing in her hands, and smites her children to hasten their flight from the falling ruins and from the scorching fury of the flames. There are besides other women, who, kneeling before the Pope, appear to be entreating that his Holiness will cause the fire to be staid.[121]

The second picture also represents an incident from the life of Pope Leo IV. : here the master has depicted the

[121] In this room Raphael frankly turns over the work to his assistants, and is felt only as an inspiration and in the painting of certain rare fragments. As a result three of the frescoes present little of the interest to be found in the grand *Camera della Segnatura*, and the fourth, the best of the series, the *Incendio del Borgo*, is melodramatic rather than dramatic, and is a coarse and exaggerated development of the fine drawings in Vienna—drawings which themselves are not exempt from an academic and theatrical character. Here begins the attitudinizing, the rolling of eyes, the grimace of widely opened mouths, of over-emphatic gesture, all the delineation of a "fine frenzy." The epoch of exaggeration had set in, and controversy was not slow to follow. Many of the courtiers admired these later frescoes enthusiastically, the more so for the many portraits of prelates that were conveniently introduced. But we hear from the opposition in the letter of the saddler Leonardo to Michelangelo; speaking of the Farnesina frescoes, he says "they are even worse than those of the last *camera*" (of the *Incendio del Borgo*). The figures attitudinize; all this would-be agony leaves us indifferent, but nevertheless under and behind the exaggeration and the coldness is still the superb power of the Renaissance; we are yet close to the life-giving force of Raphael. The background group is worthy of his greatest frescoes. Taine, who nearly always goes straight to the core and heart of a work, feels at once the factitiousness and the genuineness of the effect produced, and after smiling at the terrible fire, which has nothing but stone to feed it, and at the parents who hand their child over a wall as tranquilly as if it were a bundle of cloth, he goes on to say: "Why indeed should not frescoes be a complement of architecture? Is it not a mistake to consider them wholly by themselves? We must place ourselves at the same point of view as the painter in order to enter into his ideas; and certainly such was the point of view of Raphael. The Conflagration of the Borgo is comprehended within the space of an ornament which has to be filled up. The Parnassus and the Deliverance of Peter surmount, one a door and the other a window, and their position imposes upon them their shape. These paintings are not appended to, but form a portion of, the edifice and cover it as a skin covers the body. Why, then, belonging to the edifice, should they not be architectural? There is an innate logic in all these great works; it is for me to forget my modern education in order to arrive at its meaning."—Taine's *Italie*.

Port of Ostia occupied by the fleet of the Turks,[122] who had come to make his Holiness prisoner. On the sea without are seen the Christians engaged in combat with the Turkish Armada, and numerous prisoners are already observed to be entering the harbour; the latter are seen to issue from a boat whence they are dragged by soldiers, the attitudes and countenances of whom are exceedingly spirited and beautiful. The prisoners are clothed in a variety of vestments proper to seamen, and are led before St. Leo, whose figure is a portrait of the then reigning Pontiff, Leo X. His Holiness, who is in full pontificals, is enthroned between the Cardinal of Santa Maria-in-Portico, Bernardo Divizio da Bibbiena[123] namely, and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Clement VII. It would not be possible minutely to describe the admirable thought with which this most inventive artist has depicted the countenances of the prisoners, in whose expression all necessity for speech is superseded, so eloquently does it set forth their grief, their terror, and the bitter foretaste which they are enduring of the death preparing for them.[124]

[122] Saracens rather.

[123] A portrait of Bibbiena by Raphael is in the Pitti Gallery.

[124] This fresco of the Battle of Ostia, which was executed in 1514–15, was not painted by Raphael himself, with the exception perhaps of the portraits of the Pope and of his attendants, Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Bibbiena. It has suffered more than the others. The work is full of varied and interesting action, but is very inferior to the fine drawings made as studies for it and now in the Museum of Oxford. One of the studies for the Battle of Ostia is a drawing in red chalk now in Vienna. This drawing was sent to Dürer in 1515 and is referred to in note 113. Morelli (Italian Painters, I., p. 433) claims that it, as well as the studies for the *Incendio del Borgo*, the water-carrier, the young man bearing his father, etc., and which are in the same Museum of Vienna, are all by Giulio Romano. He believes that at this epoch Raphael usually made only a slight preliminary sketch, which was turned into a finished study by his pupils and then enlarged into cartoons, which latter, after having been corrected somewhat by Raphael, were approved, and then carried to completion by pupils. In ending the notes upon the *Stanze* of Raphael one may again remark the coarseness of outline which is to be found even in some of the finest figures; instead of the many subtile little planes of outline which make up the silhouette of an arm or leg, two or three sweeping touches will outline a calf or forearm; in many of the faces the features are generalized till they seem only a Renaissance reminis-

In the other two pictures is first Leo X. consecrating the most Christian King,[125] Francis I. of France. He is chanting the mass robed in full pontificals, and is blessing the oils wherewith to anoint the monarch at the same time that he likewise blesses the royal crown ; a vast body of Cardinals and Bishops, also in their episcopal robes, are serving the mass, and there are, moreover, numerous ambassadors and

cence of an antique statue. This is partly because pupils imperfectly translated Raphael's sketches, partly because restorers have coarsened the modelling, hardened and thickened the outlines. Take them for all in all, the figures of the *Stanze* will not stand as pieces of subtile drawing or characterization, but they are masterpieces of style and of movement, and are intended to tell at a distance and as parts of a whole. To see how they gain when allowed to fulfil their true purpose we have only to compare the large isochromatic photographs (by Alinari or Brogi) of figures in detail with the same figures when seen in those photographs that show the *ensemble* of the fresco to which the said figures belong; seen in this *ensemble* every line becomes a part of the main scheme.

Before terminating let us reconsider the three finest *Stanze* which, together with the Sistine Chapel, stand as the most important monuments of Italian decorative art. Painted in vaulted rectangular rooms, the decorations in each room cover the ceiling, two clear walls and two walls pierced with windows. The *Stanza* called the *Camera della Segnatura* offers us the example of Raphael at his highest point of decorative capacity, of freshness, spontaneity, and beauty, above all else, as the artist who composes and presents an architectonic whole. The work is surpassed in certain technical qualities by later frescoes of the master, but is unequalled in effect and in sustained and balanced completeness, the School of Athens and the *Disputà* remaining the two monumental compositions *par excellence*, and the Jurisprudence being unexcelled as a decorative arrangement. In the *Stanza* called the *Camera d'Eliodoro* the Miracle of Bolsena in the two technical qualities of color and handling surpasses any work in the series, while the Liberation of Peter as a *tour de force* of chiaroscuro makes up by this mastery of light and shade for a compromise with certain decorative principles. In the *Camera della Segnatura* portraiture is used only in the celebration of moral or intellectual greatness—as a true apotheosis ; in the *Camera d'Eliodoro* it glorifies temporal power and descends to becoming a tribute to vanity. The *Stanza* called the *Camera dell' Incendio*, last in point of date, is also last in every other sense and has been mentioned above. In spite of its inferiority it retains some of the beauty which makes the *Camera della Segnatura* (if surpassed by the Sistine in grandeur and overwhelming power) the serenest, the most homogeneous, and architectonically the most complete monument of Italian decorative painting.

[125] The subject is the Coronation of Charlemagne, but the face of Francis I. was substituted for that of Charlemagne and that of Leo X. took the place

other personages portrayed from nature, with several figures dressed in the French manner of that period. The second picture represents the Coronation of the above named King,[126] and here the Pope and Francis are both drawn from the life, the king in armour, the Pope in his pontifical robes ; the College of Cardinals, a large number of Bishops, chamberlains, shield-bearers, and grooms of the chamber, all in their appropriate robes and dresses of ceremony, are placed in their due position and proper order as is usual in the papal chapel. Among them are many portraits from the life, as, for example, that of Giannozzo Pandolfini, Bishop of Troy, and the most intimate friend of Raphael, with those of many other persons holding eminent positions at that time. Near the King is a boy kneeling, who bears the crown in his hands : this is the portrait of Ippolito de' Medici,[127] who was afterwards a Cardinal and became Vice-Chancellor—a highly esteemed prelate, and the firm friend, not of these arts only, but of others—one too, whose memory I am myself bound to hold in the most grateful respect, and do indeed acknowledge myself deeply obliged to him, since my own commencement in art, such as it may have been, had its origin with that noble prelate.

To describe all the minute particulars of Raphael's works, wherein every object seems to be eloquently speaking in its silence, would not be possible ; I must yet not omit to mention that beneath each of the pictures above described is represented a socle or basement, wherein are depicted the figures of various benefactors and defenders of the church, separated from each other by terminal figures of various

of Leo IV.; in fact the subject is a reminder of the interview of the two princes at Bologna in 1515. The fresco is almost wholly the work of pupils.

[126] This fresco was probably painted by Perino del Vaga in 1517 (?). Raphael's share in it is all but obliterated by fading and repainting. Here again Vasari is in error in regard to the subject. The fresco represents the oath of Pope Leo III. before Charlemagne that he is innocent of charges brought against him by the nephew of Adrian I. The fresco is inscribed Dei Non Hominis est Episcopus Judicare.

[127] It is doubtful if this be the portrait here described.

character, but all executed in such a manner that every part gives evidence of the utmost thought and care; all are full of spirit, with a propriety and harmony of colour that could not possibly be better. The ceiling of this apartment had been painted by Pietro Perugino, Raphael's master, and this the latter, from respect to his memory and from the affection that he bore him, would not destroy, seeing that by his instructions it was that Raphael himself was first conducted to the path which had led him to so high a position in art.

So comprehensive and extended were the views of Raphael in all things relating to his works, that he kept designers employed in all parts of Italy, at Puzzuolo and even in Greece, to the end that he might want nothing of that which appertained to his art; and for this he spared neither labour nor cost.

Pursuing his works in the Vatican, Raphael decorated one of the halls in terretta,[128] depicting several of the Apostles and numerous Saints,[129] whom he has represented standing in niches or tabernacles.[130] There also he caused his disciple Giovanni da Udine, who had not his equal in the delineation of animals, to paint all those then in the possession of Pope Leo X.; the chameleon, for example, the civet cat, the apes, the parrots, the lions, the elephant,[131] and other animals

[128] *Terretta*, otherwise called *Terra di Cava*, or, as by Baldinucci, *Terra da Baccali*. "The earth or clay used in making earthenware for the service of the table, and which, being mixed with powdered charcoal, was employed for making grounds for painting in chiaroscuro, and even for the tints. It is found in Rome, near St. Peter's, and at Monte Spertoli, thirteen miles from Florence, and appears to resemble what in England is called 'China clay.'"—From a note to the Ancient Treatises on the Arts of Painting, translated, with notes, by Mrs. Merrifield. See the Volpato Manuscript, vol. ii., p. 730.—From Mrs. Foster's notes.

[129] Christ and the twelve Apostles rather.

[130] These works in the Sala de' Palafrenieri for which Raphael furnished the designs were nearly destroyed when the hall was altered to make a series of smaller apartments. Gregory XIII. had the original form restored and the restoration of the frescoes was intrusted to Taddeo Zucchero. They have happily been preserved by the burin of Marco Antonio.

[131] The monumental, practical jokes of the Renaissance figure again and again in the lives of the artists. In the Rome of Pope Leo this carnival spirit,

from distant lands. He also adorned many of the floors and other parts of the palace with *grottesche* and other embellishments; and gave the design for certain of the staircases, as well as for the loggie commenced by the architect Bramante, but which remained incomplete at the death of that master, when they were continued after a new design, and with many changes in the architecture, by Raphael himself, who prepared a model in wood, the arrangement and decoration of which were richer and more beautiful than that proposed by Bramante.

Pope Leo, desiring to show the greatness of his magnificence and generosity, caused Raphael to make designs for the ornaments in stucco, which he had resolved to have placed between the paintings[132] executed in the loggie, as

like everything else, became colossal, in the coronation at the Capitol of one Baraballo. He was a rhymester, who was a Petrarch in his own eyes, and became the butt of Pope and court. Mounted on the elephant presented to Leo by the King of Portugal, Baraballo made a triumphal progress, until the beast refused to cross the bridge of St Angelo. The coronation of Baraballo had an even more unpardonable sequence in the glorification of the elephant at the hands of Raphael, who painted him in the size of life upon a wall of the Vatican. This was done to please the people after the death of the animal. "What nature took away, Raphael of Urbino restored by his art;" was the end of a long inscription which celebrated the painting It is only fair to add, that a papal chamberlain was the keeper of the animal, and that in those days an elephant in Italy was a rarity that aroused real interest and was especially identified with the ceremonial of the ancients.

That there were other and more serious diversions for the papal court than this episode of the elephant, we may see by the letter of the Ferrarese secretary Paulucci, March 8, 1519, which tells how, with Ariosto for playwright, and pope and courtiers for audience, Raphael, Peruzzi, and Aristotile da San Gallo turned scene painters.

[132] The *Loggie* of the Vatican, or more properly the upper *Loggie* (painted 1517–19), consist of thirteen arcades, vaulted in cupola. Each of the arcades contains four frescoes, there are consequently fifty-two subjects in all, forty-eight from the Old and four from the New Testament. The frescoes include the stories of the Creation, of Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, and of Christ. The date of the decoration of the *Loggie* is uncertain, probably Raphael's own share dates from 1515–16; and the termination of the work, according to Marco Antonio Michieli (see Müntz, *Raphaël*, p. 453), took place before December, 1519. Herr Springer feels sure that Raphael had nothing to do with the frescoes of the three last arcades, which contain the stories of David, of Solomon, and of

well as for those in other parts ; and as superintendent of all these *grottesche* in stucco, he appointed Giovanni da Udine, Giulio Romano being commissioned to prepare the figures ; but the latter did not work at them to any great extent. The Pontiff also commissioned Giovanni Francesco, Il Bologna, Perino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, Vincenzio of San Gimignano, and Polidoro da Caravaggio,[133] with many other artists, to execute historical pictures, separate figures and many other portions of the works, all which

Christ. He believes that the designs which occur frequently in the museums of Europe and which reproduce the subjects of the *Loggie*, are posterior to the execution of the frescoes, and that only a few rare pen studies, or drawings in red chalk and in *pierre d'Italie* are genuine originals. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think that only one sketch by Raphael for the *Loggie* has been discovered, viz., that for the David and Goliath, see *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 426. They insist, however, upon Raphael's supreme and exclusive control of the general artistic scheme. This is only natural and necessary, no one of his pupils or followers would have been equal to the task. Morelli attributes the execution of all of the subjects to Perino del Vaga. Other critics have included Giulio Romano (for the stories of Noah and of Joseph) ; Francesco Penni (for the histories of Abraham, Lot, and of Isaac) ; Raffaellino del Colle (for the story of Moses) ; Pellegrino da Modena (for that of Solomon).

The effect of the *Loggie* is cheerful, even gay, splendid, astonishingly varied in motive, and quintessentially characteristic of the Renaissance. No decoration gives a stronger impression of the spontaneity, freshness, fecundity, and endless resources of the epoch. The inspiration for these frescoes came from subterranean Rome, from the wall paintings of antiquity, and the *Loggie* in their turn have been a quarry for the decorators of four hundred years. It is in the purely decorative parts, the so-called grotesques (*grottesche* from the *grotte*, grottoes or excavations, in which the original mural paintings were found) in the interwoven figures and scrolls, that we find special subject for admiration. Hittorf, however (see E. Müntz, *L'Age d'Or*, p. 336), considers the grotesques of the Villa Madama, in their relative simplicity of distribution superior to even those of the *Loggie*.

As to the sacred historical subjects, they are often coarse in execution and coarse, too, in line, but they are grand in line as well, and some of them have a simplicity, beauty, and freshness of composition which give evidence of the best side of Raphael's capacity, even though Raphael never touched them himself and only composed the first rough pen and ink sketches. They, the best among them at least, breathe the real spirit of the *cinquecento* and are worthy of their name of "Raphael's Bible," "*La Bible guelfe de Raphael*" of Edgar Quinet, the *Biblia Pauperum* of the Middle Ages.

[133] For copious details regarding the *Loggie* see Vasari's lives of Giovanni da Udine, Perino del Vaga, Il Fattore, and Pellegrino da Modena. Numerous modern works, most of them with plates, have been published upon the

Raphael caused to be completed with so much care, that he even suffered the pavement to be procured in Florence from Luca della Robbia,[134] inasmuch that, whether for the paintings, the stucco work, the architecture or other beautiful inventions, a more admirable performance could not be executed, nay could scarcely be imagined; its perfection was indeed the cause of Raphael's receiving the charge of all the works in painting and architecture that were to be executed in the palace.

Loggie and they figure prominently in nearly every work upon decoration. In the life of Morto da Feltre, as also in that of Giovanni da Udine, much is said of the *grottesche* of the ancients, but Herr Schmarsow has claimed for Pinturicchio the credit of their first adoption into the art of the Renaissance. The word "grotesques" (*grottesche*) is used for the first time in the contract for the painting of the Library of Siena.

Although wholly different in subjects the so called Bath Room of Bibbiena may be mentioned in connection with the Loggie, since it is in the Vatican and is decorated with *grottesche*. Passavant saw and described the room, but since his time it has been practically closed to the studious as well as to the merely curious. Herr Hermann Dollmayr (*L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, III., p. 273) at last obtained permission to visit it, and describes the vaulting as in ruins but the remainder as in better condition than he had anticipated. The room is decorated throughout with mythological subjects, *amorini*, etc., treated in that style which the Renaissance based upon the decoration of ancient Roman houses. Herr Dollmayr's article contains a long description of these wall-paintings, of which he attributes the design to Raphael, the execution to Giulio Romano; the author refers also to P. Schoenfeld, *Raphael's Tag-und Nachtstunden und das Badezimmer des card. Bibbiena*, in the *Kunstchronik*, 1881, p. 406. The famous so-called "Hours" of Raphael no longer exists; there is not even any certainty as to where the paintings themselves (now known only in reproduction) were placed. Passavant thinks they were painted by a pupil of Raphael in "the interior of a Roman Palace," and it is known that Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga painted some Hours in the *Sala Borgia* which have disappeared. Nothing can be proved with certainty regarding these "Hours," but it is probable that Raphael made the first sketches which inspired his pupils and that he in turn was inspired by antiquity. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 548–550. The so-called Villa Raphael, once outside the Pincian gate and now destroyed, contained frescoes of classical subjects in the style of Giulio Romano. Among these was the Marriage of Alexander, now in the Borghese collection, and for which there exists a famous drawing in Vienna. Nothing has been satisfactorily proved regarding the work, which, however, seems to have been by pupils or imitators of Raphael.

[134] This pavement has been broken up. Signor Costantini, who saw it before it was destroyed, describes it as resembling the flooring of the Capella di

It is said that Raphael was so courteous and obliging, that for the convenience of certain among his friends, he commanded the masons not to build the walls in a firm uninterrupted range, but to leave certain spaces and apertures among the old chambers on the lower floors, to the end that they might store casks, pipes, firewood, etc., therein ; but these hollows and spaces weakened the base of the walls, so that it has since become needful to fill them in, seeing that the whole work began to show cracks and other signs of deterioration. For all the doors, wainscots, and other portions ornamented in woodwork, Raphael caused fine carvings to be prepared, and these were executed and finished in a very graceful manner by Gian Barile.

The architectural designs for the Vigna[135] of the Pope and for several houses in the Borgo,[136] but more particularly for the palace of Messer Giovanni Battista dall' Aquila, which was a very beautiful edifice, were likewise prepared by Raphael.[137] He also designed one for the Bishop of Troia, who caused him to construct it in the Via di San Gallo at Florence.[138]

Fra Mariano del Piombo in Roma. The latter was evidently a pavement in the style of the Robbias, taken from the Vatican ; the Robbia mentioned is the younger Luca. M. Müntz, *Raphaël*, p. 454, note, quotes a payment to Luca registered in the Vatican Archives. Signor Giovanni Tesoroni, technical director of the *Museo Artistico e Industriale* at Naples, has been ordered to consider means for reconstructing this pavement of the *Loggie*. See his essay, *L'Antico pavimento delle Loggie di Raffaello in Vaticano*, Naples, 1891 ; and for a reproduction of the pavement of the chapel of Fra Mariano, see an article by D. Gnoli in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., p. 126.

[135] This is the famous Villa Madama ; the interior has suffered from dampness and neglect ; Raphael probably made several designs for this villa.

[136] Most of these houses were destroyed when the new colonnade was built.

[137] This palace was built for Giovanni Battista Branconio dell' Aquila and was situated in the Borgo Nuovo. It was destroyed in the seventeenth century. The dell' Aquila palace was decorated in stucco by Giovanni da Udine ; M. Müntz reproduces a rare engraving of it in his *Raphaël*, p. 589.

[138] In November, 1515, Raphael was summoned to Florence by Leo X. to give his advice regarding the completion of San Lorenzo. It is probable that during this sojourn he was engaged to prepare the design for the Pandolfini (now Nencini) palace, which was built by Bishop Pandolfini after Raphael's death. The work was begun by Giovanni Francesco da San Gallo, one of the

For the Black Friars of San Sisto in Piacenza, Raphael painted a picture, intended to form the altar-piece for the high altar of their church, the subject of this work is the Virgin with St. Sixtus and Santa Barbara, a truly admi-

under-architects of St. Peter's and was finished by another collaborator of Raphael, Aristotile da San Gallo (see M. Müntz). The Uguccioni Palace on the Piazza della Signoria at Florence has been attributed to Raphael, though it was built in 1550, and it is doubtful if Raphael had anything to do with plan or model. The achievement of Raphael as architect is relatively insignificant, and his work is interesting to us because it is Raphael's rather than by intrinsic excellence. His appointment as chief architect of St. Peter's was without doubt the direct result of his friendship with Bramante, above all of that sympathetic relation which made the architect feel that his Umbrian fellow-citizen and warm friend would carry out his, Bramante's ideas, more readily than would another. The work upon the church could of course make small progress during the few years of Raphael's directorship, and was principally confined to strengthening piers, etc., but nevertheless his plans differed from Bramante's. Two old men, Giulano da San Gallo and Fra Giocondo, were associated with Raphael, they soon died, however, and Antonio da San Gallo the younger took their place. Giuliano Leno, as head of the administrative department of the works, and Barile also, were under Raphael's orders. The work of Baron von Geymüller, *Raffaello Sanzio studiato come architetto con l' ajuto di nuovi documenti* (Milan, 1884), is valuable in the consideration of Raphael as architect. The critic accounts the *Cortile* of San Damaso in the Vatican and the *Loggie* to be Raphael's most important architectural undertaking after the works on St. Peter's. He attributes the design of the Farnesina to Raphael, but this building, which appears more delicate than the heavy classical examples left by him, is more generally accredited to Peruzzi. For the Palazzo dell' Aquila at Rome see note 137, and for the Pandolfini at Florence, see above; for the Villa Madama, see note 135; and for the circular church of S. Eligio degli Orefici in Rome (1509), possibly an early architectural work of Raphael, see Müntz, and Geymüller, *op. cit.*, p. 105. The latter thinks Peruzzi, to whom Aristotile da San Gallo attributes the church, may have built it after Raphael's designs The design for the Chigi Chapel in S. M. del Popolo has also been accredited to Raphael. For further studies of his architectural works see Geymüller, *op. cit.*, and Passavant, *op. cit.*, who mention designs for the *façade* of S. Lorenzo, Florence; plan for the church of S. Giovanni Battista dei Fiorentini, Rome; plan of Raphael's house; plans for palaces, villas, stables, etc.; see also Milanesi, p. 379, note 2. Though this short list of works shows a comparatively unimportant achievement, Raphael's sincere enthusiasm for architecture is proved by the use which he made of it in his pictures and by his ambition as an archæologist. M. Müntz, *Raphaël*, pp. 594–595, declares that the Palazzo Pandolfini, the design of the Villa Madama, and the projected plan preserved in the Uffizi are really the work of a great architect, and that in the succession of Brunelleschi, Alberti, Bramante, Palladio,

rable production.[139] Raphael painted many pictures to be sent into France,[140] but more particularly one for the king, St. Michael namely, in combat with the Arch-fiend, this also is considered singularly beautiful, a rock, whence flames are issuing, represents the centre of the earth, and from the clefts of this rock fires and sulphurous flames are proceeding, while Lucifer, whose limbs, scorched and burn-

Raphael, had it not been for his early death, would have been the natural link between the two last named. We are now obliged to seek in the palaces of the Farnese and Conservatori, the cupola of St. Peter's, the library of Venice, the Villa Imperiali, Villa Pia, Villa of Julius III., "*les éléments épars de la succession artistique de Bramante.*" Vitruvius was translated by Marco Fabio Calvo of Ravenna into Italian to aid Raphael in his architectural studies; the original MS. is now in the library at Munich. On the last page is the statement that the translation was done at Raphael's request, and in his own house; the MS. contains annotations by Raphael, some of which are given in Passavant, *op. cit.*, I., p. 199, note 1. Celio Calcagnini tells us that Raphael commented orally upon Vitruvius, praising and blaming with such tact "that no bitterness ever mingled with his criticism."

[139] The Madonna of San Sisto stands in the same relation to Raphael's other virgins as does the *Camera della Segnatura* to his subsequent frescoes of the Vatican, and the Galatea to his other mythological pictures. The Sistine Virgin heads the long train of the *Madonne Gloriose* of the Renaissance. The child who is enthroned upon her arm belongs to that family of robustly angelic babies which counts the *putto* with the book at the feet of the Foligno Madonna, the *putti* of San Luca and Sant' Agostino, the dolphin-driver of the Galatea, and the children who upon the vaulting of the *Segnatura* proclaim the divinity of the Poetry, Theology, Philosophy, and Jurisprudence. The picture was long considered as one of Raphael's last works, though in color it does not resemble the Transfiguration at all, being much better than the latter. Herr Anton Springer has shown that it was probably painted in 1515. How the northern city of Piacenza ever was fortunate enough to obtain such a picture from Raphael at his busiest time is a mystery. Perhaps it was an outcome of that visit to Bologna, if the visit ever took place; perhaps (see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II., p. 373) the cardinal of San Sisto was mediator for the monks of Piacenza. He knew Raphael well, had been painted in the fresco of the Decretals, was one of the party in the famous papal progress to Bologna, and if an advocate with Raphael, would have been a powerful one. The picture was upon canvas, and it has been said upon uncertain evidence that it was so painted in order that it might be used as banner (*drapellone*) on high festivals. If so, Raphael apotheosized the invention of his native Umbria, the processional banner which, as Rio has said, corresponds in painting to the hymn in poetry. The Sistine Madonna is in the Dresden Gallery.

[140] The supreme pontiff had the more than royal privilege of convening at Florence, in 1515, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and probably Raphael, to

ing, are depicted of various tints, exhibits every emotion of rage that pride, envenomed and inflated, can awaken against the Oppressor of his greatness, by whom he is deprived of his kingdom, and at whose hands he may never hope for peace, but is certain to receive heavy and perpetually enduring punishment. In direct contrast with this figure is that of the Archangel San Michele ; his countenance is adorned with celestial beauty, he wears armour formed of iron and gold, fearlessness, force, and terror are in his aspect, he has cast Lucifer to the earth, and compels him to lie prone beneath his uplifted spear : the work was performed in so admirable a manner at all points, that Raphael obtained, as he had well merited, a large and honourable reward for it from the king.[141] This matter also painted the portrait of Beatrice of Ferrara,[142] with those of other ladies ; that of his own inamorata is more particularly

discuss the completion of the Medicean church, San Lorenzo; yet for all that he was never able to finish it. Whether he took the three princes of art in his train of temporal princes to Bologna is uncertain. Michelangelo went with Leo certainly, and Leonardo probably. Raphael surely left Rome for a time in 1515, witness a deed of sale made for him, "*licet absente*," that year, and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle cleverly bring forward as indirect evidence in favor of his journey to Bologna the facts that he began in the first place in 1515 to take pictorial commissions from the French king and court, who met the pope with grand ceremony at Bologna; secondly, that he renewed his friendship with Francesco Francia at just this time; and thirdly, that he sent the Ezekiel of the Pitti to Count Ercolano at Bologna.

[141] This picture, which is hard and metallic in handling and disagreeable in color, was presented to Francis I. by Pope Leo X. in 1518. Louis XIV. had it placed over his throne, carefully protected by shutters. Primaticcio restored it in 1537–40, and it was subsequently restored again ; in 1753 it was transferred to canvas, and is now in the Louvre. The cartoon was given by Raphael to the Duke of Ferrara. Among the other pictures at the Louvre attributed to Raphael are the *Belle Jardinière*, the *Vierge au Voile*, the Holy Family of Francis I., St. John in the Desert (also accredited to del Piombo), St. Margaret, St. George, another picture of St. Michael, and the portraits of Baldasarre Castiglione, of Giovanna of Arragon, of "a young man," and a picture of two men called without any reason Raphael and his Fencing-master (attributed also to Sebastian del Piombo).

[142] The famous portrait in the Barberini Gallery is called the Fornarina, but this name (Baker's Wife or Daughter) has no justification. Fabio Chigi, afterward Pope Alexander VII., was, so far as is known, the first to suggest that the picture represented an inamorata of Raphael; ancient copies of it

to be specified, but he also executed many others. He was much disposed to the gentler affections and delighted in the society of woman, for whom he was ever ready to perform acts of service. But he also permitted himself to be devoted somewhat too earnestly to the pleasures of life, and in this respect was perhaps more than duly considered and indulged by his friends and admirers. We find it related that his intimate friend Agostino Chigi had commissioned him to paint the first floor of his palace,[143] but Raphael was at that time so much occupied with the love which he bore to the lady of his choice, that he could not give sufficient attention to the work. Agostino therefore, falling at length into despair of seeing it finished, made so many efforts by means of friends and by his own care, that after much difficulty he at length prevailed on the lady to take up her abode in his house, where she was accordingly installed in apartments near those which Raphael was painting; in this manner the work was ultimately brought to a conclusion.

For these pictures Raphael prepared all the cartoons,[144]

exist in the Capitol, the Borghese and the Sciarra Galleries, and at Montepulciano. See Layard's Kugler, II., p. 527, as also the writings of other critics, for the attribution to Giulio Romano of the Barberini Fornarina. M. Müntz (*Raphaël*, p. 402) notes the fact that a fresco in the Villa Lante by Giulio Romano reproduces this portrait in company with heads of Raphael, Titian, and a mistress of Titian. For the so-called Donna Velata see note 116. The so-called Fornarina of the Uffizi has been attributed to Raphael, Giorgione, and Sebastian del Piombo. Dr. Bode gives it to Raphael, painting under the immediate influence of Sebastian, but it is more generally accredited to the Venetian master. No one knows who is represented in the picture, and one theory is that the woman is Beatrice of Ferrara, an *improvisatrice*, another that the figure represents the great Marchioness Vittoria Colonna; these theories are as unproven as they are different.

[143] These are the frescoes of the Villa called the Farnesina, and are among the most famous of Raphael's works. The Farnesina was built for Agostino Chigi, was begun before 1509, finished in 1511. According to Vasari, whose statement is generally accepted, Baldasarre Peruzzi was the architect. Baron H. von Geymüller is inclined to accredit the villa to Raphael.

[144] These frescoes were probably finished in 1518, Penni and Giulio Romano executed them, Giovanni da Udine doing the decorative framework of fruit and flowers; and critics are generally agreed that Raphael painted the figure of one of the three Graces (in a pendentive) who has her back turned to the spectator. There are two large ceiling panels, Psyche upon Olympus

painting many of the figures also with his own hand in fresco. On the ceiling he represented the council of the Gods in heaven, and in the forms of these deities many of the outlines and lineaments may be perceived to be from the antique, as are various portions of the draperies and vestments, the whole admirably drawn and exhibiting the most perfect grace.[145] In a manner equally beautiful, Raphael further depicted the Marriage of Psyche, with the attendants ministering to Jupiter and the Graces scattering flowers. In the angles of the ceiling also he executed other

and the Marriage of Psyche; the ten pendentives contain: Venus pointing out Psyche as a Mark for Cupid's Arrows; Cupid showing Psyche to the Three Graces; Venus drawn by Doves; Venus complaining to Jupiter; Mercury as Messenger, Psyche bringing back the Vase; Psyche presenting the Vase to Venus; Jupiter embracing Cupid; Pysche ascending to Heaven with Mercury. In the fourteen *lunettes* between the pendentives are the triumphs of Love, Cupids flying in the air and holding various attributes.

[145] The frescoes of the Farnesina are at once a high-water mark of the vigor of Italian art and a monumental example of its decadence. We have nowhere a more astonishing proof than here of the strength of the spirit of the Renaissance, a strength which could burst through and triumph over all faults of material execution. In spirit and in decorative adaptability of the designs to the spaces filled the pendentives of the Farnesina count among the best of Raphael's works; in execution they are so coarse and sometimes so slovenly as to be at the first glance almost repellent. Raphael *frescante*, painter of Madonnas, sculptor, mosaic worker, architect of St. Peter's, overburdened with commissions, harassed by patrons, gave the whole execution of this work to his pupils, and in spite of the brick-red flesh-tints and brutal outlines, in spite of Maratta's staring blues in overpainted skies, the spirit of the epoch and of Raphael is so strong that in these pendentives we see again the joyous, serene life of the Greeks as reconquered by the Renaissance. Leonardo the Saddler wrote to Michelangelo that these paintings were even worse than the frescoes of the hall of the *Incendio* at the Vatican, and so the ceilings of the "Banquet" and the "Council" are; but at least these decorations are far more homogeneous and architectonically admirable; indeed with their distribution and composition no fault is to be found, it is only their execution which has been slighted. The two ceilings, the "Banquet" and the "Council," are in *technique* far worse than the pendentives. Layard in his Kugler, II., p. 530, says two charming drawings for these ceilings, each six feet long, and presumably by Raphael, exist, but adds that he does "not know where they are now." (See note 146 for mention of "feeble cartoons." Some critics have affirmed that as adaptations to peculiarly shaped wall spaces the pendentives surpass any of Raphael's other compositions. This is not quite true, the Jurisprudence and Mass of Bolsena are more perfect in this respect than are any of the works in the Farnesina.

stories, representing in one of them a figure of Mercury with his flute; the god in his graceful movements appears really to be descending from heaven; in a second is the figure of Jupiter depicted with an aspect of the most sublime dignity, near him is Ganymede, whom with celestial gravity he is caressing, and on the remaining angles are other mythological representations. Lower down is the chariot of Venus, wherein Pysche is borne to heaven in a car which is drawn by the Graces, who are aided by Mercury.[146] In those

[146] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Raphael, II., pp. 417–423, note the studies for the frescoes of the Farnesina as follows: Cupid and Jove, red chalk, Louvre (characteristic rather of Giulio Romano than of Raphael); Apollo, red chalk, Vienna; the Three Graces, red chalk, Windsor; the Three Hours, Chantilly, red chalk; Venus and Psyche, pen and ink, Oxford; Venus and Psyche, red chalk, Louvre; Cupid with the Graces, red chalk, Windsor, a feeble drawing, unlike Raphael's or Giulio's work; two feeble cartoons at Bâle for the ceilings, "the Council" and the "Banquet;" Psyche with the Cup of Ambrosia, Chatsworth (characteristic of Giulio Romano) and Psyche borne by Mercury to Olympus, red chalk, Chatsworth; a red chalk sketch of Bacchus (from the "Banquet"), in the Ambrosiana at Milan. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle refuse to express any opinion regarding this last sketch, and also decline to accept any other of the drawings catalogued by Passavant as studies for the Farnesina. It is especially desirable to mention these various sketches, since in no other case have Raphael's drawings and those of his pupils so uniformly surpassed the completed frescoes. Morelli attributes to Giulio the red chalk drawings for the Graces (at Windsor), the Ambrosiana Bacchus and the Venus and Psyche of the Louvre, whereas the latter drawing is called by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle an especially fine Raphael. It is probable that Morelli is right in the main, and the other authors in part, that is to say, that the drawing is a production embodying all the very best qualities of Giulio (of a Giulio miles removed from the artist of Mantua), so that the work, under the direct and powerful influence of Raphael, stimulated even by some direct touches of the great master's pencil, is something better than the pupil, even at his happiest moments, could otherwise produce. There is a muscular weight about these figures which is not quite Raphael's, and which yet is not unadmirable, but has a force of its own very special to this most robust epoch; there is a kind of fierce, or at all events untamed character about Giulio's people, even in the frescoes, which fascinates us in spite of their bricky flesh tones. Taine has said of this drawing of Venus and Psyche, in his *Voyage en Italie*, "The figure as originally drawn is a Virgin of primitive times, inexpressibly sweet and innocent; her childlike head, as yet unvexed by thought, placed on a Herculean trunk, carries back the mind involuntarily to the origin of the human family. . . . Even through the translation of his pupils, the painted figure here, as the fresco throughout, is still unique; it is a new

compartments of the vaulting which are above the arches and between the angles, are figures of boys most beautifully foreshortened, they are hovering in the air and bear the various attributes proper to the different deities ; one has the thunderbolts of Jove for example, others bear the helmet, sword, and shield of Mars, or the hammers of Vulcan, some are laden with the club and lion-skin of Hercules, one carries the caduceus of Mercury, another the pipe of Pan, while others again have the agricultural implements of Vertumnus : all are accompanied by the animals appropriate to their various offices and the whole work, whether as painting or poetry, is of a truth eminently beautiful.[147] All these representations Raphael further caused Giovanni da Udine to surround with a bordering of flowers, fruits, and foliage in the richest variety, disposed in festoons and all as beautiful as it is possible that works of the kind can be.

This master likewise gave a design for the stables of the Chigi Palace,[148] with that for the chapel belonging to the same Agostino Chigi in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, this he painted also,[149] and furthermore made prep-

type, not copied from the Greek, but proceeding wholly from the painter's brain and his observation of the nude model."

[147] The design for the Psyche series of thirty-two subjects, engraved by Agostino da Venezia and the *Maître au Dé*, has been attributed to Raphael ; but Vasari says that Michel Coxie, whom he knew personally, designed them, and Passavant and M. Müntz (see the latter's *Raphaël*, p. 522, note 1) support the Aretine author.

[148] Certain writers have thought that the Pavilion in the garden of the Farnesina may be the building mentioned here by Vasari, but Passavant inclines to credit it rather to Peruzzi. M. Müntz, *Raphaël*, p. 590, says the *Stalle Chigiane* were commenced in 1514.

[149] Raphael apparently proposed to execute a grand cycle, commencing with the creation of the stars by the Eternal Father, a subject which as a medallion should close the centre of the vaulting ; this, as well as eight panels representing the creation of the planets, was executed in mosaic by Aloisio della Pace, a Venetian, 1516–24. Here the work stopped, whereas Raphael, had he lived, would probably have completed an entire and grand system of decoration by the addition of the principal episodes from Genesis and from the history of the Redemption. In the mosaics which were executed, Raphael, inspired by the *Convito* of Dante, in which angels move the different planets, has given to each one of the constellations of the zodiac a celestial messenger

arations for the construction of a magnificent sepulchral monument,[150] for which he caused the Florentine sculptor Lorenzetto to execute two figures,[151] these are still in his house situate in the Macello de Corvi * in Rome. But the death of Raphael, and afterwards that of Agostino, caused the execution of the sepulchre to be made over to Sebastiano Viniziano.[152]

Raphael had now attained to such high repute, that Leo

as a governing presence, and has placed Jehovah above them all. At this epoch of the sixteenth century few of the rules obtained which governed mosaic at an earlier time. We therefore find here a treatment wholly differing from that seen, for instance, at Ravenna; it is a Renaissance treatment which, in spite of its advanced *technique*, as to design and modelling is very inferior in true decorative principle to the work of the early Christian centuries.

* Macello de' Corbi in the Milanesi edition.

[150] Baron von Geymüller believes that Raphael drew the plans and superintended the construction of Agostino Chigi's chapel in S. M. del Popolo. Sig. Domenico Gnoli (*L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, vol. ii.), *La Sepoltura d'Agostino Chigi*, thinks that the tomb is by Raphael, although Letarouilly attributes it to Peruzzi; Sig. Gnoli considers that Raphael's authorship is proved by Vasari, Chigi's will, and the character of the plan itself. The tomb was executed by Lorenzetto [Lorenzo Lotti, see Milanesi], and without doubt the design was by Raphael, for all the apparent absurdity, says Signor Gnoli, of handing over to the great Urbinate himself a work which had long passed as Bernini's! Signor Gnoli reproduces (*L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, vol. ii., p. 323) a remarkable bronze slab (*mezzo-rilievo*), now under the altar of the chapel, and which he affirms to have once been the middle of the basement of the mausoleum of Chigi. He adds that Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle are wrong in affirming that Sebastian del Piombo's frescoes were removed to make place for the sepulchre.

[151] As for the statues of the Chigi chapel there is nothing to completely prove that any existing work of sculpture is by the hand of Raphael. The South Kensington Museum has, however, a clay study claimed as Raphael's own model for the Jonah (see J. C. Robinson's Catalogue, p. 149). The statue of the latter, as well as of the Elijah, was executed by Lorenzetto, *circa* 1519. Leonardo da Compagnano in a letter to Michelangelo, and later, Castiglione, writing to Andrea Piperario, mention a clay study of a child, (*puttino*), as having been modelled by Raphael for Pietro d'Ancona. In the collection of the Hermitage there is a child lying upon a dolphin (marble), and in Dresden another (a casting); critics have tried to identify these with the above-mentioned *puttino*, but without proving their point. Certain medals, among them one for the Duke of Urbino (Lorenzo de' Medici), and one for Castiglione, have been attributed to Raphael, who probably only made the designs, if he did even so much as that.

[152] Sebastian del Piombo.

X. commanded him to commence the painting of the great hall on the upper floor of the Papal Palace,[153] that namely wherein the victories of Constantine are delineated, and this work he accordingly began.[154] The Pope also desired to have certain very rich tapestries in silk and gold prepared, whereupon Raphael made ready the Cartoons,[155]

[153] According to Sebastian del Piombo the subjects for the Hall of Constantine were to have been: The Battle, The Vision of the Cross, The Dream and Baptism of Constantine, The Massacre of the Children whose blood was to heal the Emperor's leprosy. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest that the studies for the Massacre of the Innocents engraved by Marco Antonio may have had reference to these frescoes. After Raphael's death the subjects executed by Giulio Romano and others were different from those originally proposed; The Dream, The Preparations for the Emperor's Bath, The Massacre are lacking. Those which now exist are: The Battle of Constantine, The Baptism of Constantine by Sylvester I., The Donation of Rome to Sylvester I. by Constantine, The Apparition of the Cross, called also Constantine's Address to his Soldiers; there are in addition small scenes in fresco, and the ceiling is adorned with allegorical figures and Italian landscapes. Raphael had probably nothing to do with even the composition of The Baptism and The Donation. The sketch for The Battle of Constantine, according to M. Reiset, *Notices des Dessins du Louvre*, p. 256, was executed by Polidoro da Caravaggio under Raphael's direction. The Apparition of the Cross (or Allocution), executed by pupils, differs widely from Raphael's sketch for it at Chatsworth. The fresco of the Battle is excellent as to movement and action, but absolutely monotonous as to effect of both color and light. See also the studies on the *Salle de Constantin et autres Ouvrages posthumes de Raphaël, sur le Génie de Raphaël*, and *Les Elèves de Raphaël*, in Passavant's *Raphaël d' Urbin*, I., pp. 284–347.

[154] These frescoes are surrounded by borders which suggest, and were very probably *intended* to suggest, a tapestry-like effect upon the walls. The Hall of Constantine marks the time when the Italians began to ask themselves whether the depth and brilliancy of oil colors could be preserved upon a wall surface of plaster or stone. At first a very favorable result seemed to be expected from Raphael's experiments; he is supposed to have designed the colossal figures of Justice and Comity; other critics say of Clemency and Innocence, which Penni and Giulio Romano painted in oil to test the new medium, but soon the unsatisfactory nature of the process became apparent, and the painters returned to fresco. Sebastian del Piombo in his letter leads us to understand that only one of the colossal figures was painted in 1520.

Taken altogether, the works in the Hall of Constantine must be considered as postdating Raphael's death and as showing relatively little of the master's influence.

[155] During the building of St. Peter's ceremonies of every kind within the Vatican were naturally held in the Sistine Chapel, which thus became more than ever a focus for decoration. Raphael now attained to the

which he coloured also with his own hand, giving them the exact form and size required for the tapestries. These were then despatched to Flanders to be woven, and when the cloths were finished they were sent to Rome.[156] This work was so admirably executed that it awakened astonishment in all who beheld it, as it still continues to do; for the spectator finds it difficult to conceive how it has been found pos-

coveted honor of taking part in this adornment of the central chapel of Latin Christianity. These tapestries were ordered by Leo X. to complete the decorations of the Sistine, and the Acts of the Apostles were chosen as a subject which not only celebrated the commencement of the Papacy, but which should also fill out the cycle of scripture subjects that covered the vaulting and upper walls. To the history of Moses, painted there in fresco under Sixtus IV., Michelangelo added the history of the Creation, the prophecy of the Saviour's advent (Prophets and Sibyls), the Ancestors of Christ, and finally closed the cycle with the Last Judgment. The tapestry of the Coronation of the Virgin was possibly intended in Raphael's time to end the series. The designs were without doubt furnished by Raphael, and the cartoons may have been executed by his pupils from these designs. The cartoons (begun about 1514) remained in the work-shops of the weavers in Flanders, where they had been cut into strips and pricked with holes, until 1630, when the painter Rubens bought them for Charles I. After the death of the king, Cromwell purchased them for the state for £300. In the reign of William III. they were mounted by the advice of Sir Godfrey Kneller. The seven cartoons which now remain were formerly at Hampton Court, England, in a room built for them by Sir Christopher Wren. They are now preserved in the South Kensington Museum, London. The following is a list of the cartoons: 1. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes, sometimes named the Calling of Peter. 2. Christ's Charge to Peter. 3. The Stoning of Stephen. 4. Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, or The Healing of the Lame Man. 5. The Death of Ananias. 6. The Conversion of St. Paul. 7. Elymas the Sorcerer Struck with Blindness. 8. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. 9. St. Paul Preaching at Athens. 10. St. Paul in the Prison at Philippi. The cartoons, numbers 3, 6, and 10, are lost. For the cartoon of the Coronation of the Virgin see following note.

[156] The tapestries themselves are in the Vatican in the *Galleria degli Arazzi*, Although the town of Arras, in Belgium, has given the name of *arazzi* to tapestries, Arras had lost its importance in 1514, and Brussels received the commission for the tapestries, which were woven, according to M. A. Wauters, by Pierre Leroy; according to M. Müntz, who publishes the document for the contract, by Pierre van Aelst. (The story of the supervision of Bernhard van Orley, a pupil of Raphael who had returned home, being a fable.) The larger part of the tapestries was completed in 1518, and on St. Stephen's day (December 26), 1519, they were hung in the chapel. The series was finished in 1520, and cost 20,000 ducats. In 1527 the tapestries were sold after the sack of Rome by the soldiers of the Constable of Bourbon, who cut the Elymas in two

sible to have produced such hair and beards by weaving, or to have given so much softness to the flesh by means of thread, a work which certainly seems rather to have been performed by miracle than by the art of man, seeing that we have here animals, buildings, water, and innumerable objects of various kinds, all so well done that they do not look like a mere texture woven in the loom, but like paintings executed with the pencil.[157] This work

and lost the lower half. Two of the tapestries went to Constantinople, but were returned to Julius III. in 1553, thanks to the Constable Anne de Montmorenci. The remaining ones were offered for sale in Lyons in 1530 (see Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Raphael, II., p. 279). Clement VII. bargained for them and they were at the Vatican in 1545. Again the French sold them in 1798, and they were bought by a company of dealers and exhibited in Paris. Pius VII. purchased them, and in 1808 (see an inscription to that effect in the border to the Miraculous Draught of Fishes) they were returned to the Vatican, where they have since remained. The interior walls of the chapel are divided by ten pilasters into as many panels, which are filled by the tapestries. There are four of these panels on each side, and there were two at the altar end, where Michelangelo finally painted the Last Judgment. The tapestry representing the Coronation of the Virgin, which in the eighteenth century was hung as an altar-piece in the Sistine Chapel, was discovered quite recently by M. Paliard in a chamber connected with the private apartments of the Pope. Passavant declared that it was intended to complete the decoration of the Vatican. M. Müntz denies this, and says that though Raphael may have made the study for it, it did not enter the Vatican until the time of Pope Paul III., and was only hung up as altar-piece in the last century. The designs in the tapestries reverse the compositions of the cartoons, and the colors in the former are more brilliant and are interwoven with gold and silver. In comparing them with the cartoons it will be seen that the tapestries have shrunk considerably. Their borders, especially the pilasters decorated with grotesques, are marvels of grace, spontaneity, and freshness, and the lower edges, friezes, or socles, presenting subjects from the Acts of the Apostles and from the life of Leo X., are also wonderful in their variety, being in themselves a whole gallery of pictures. Some of the inscriptions in these borders postdate the execution of the hangings themselves.

[157] After giving the typical examples of monumental decorative painting in the *Stanze* of the Vatican, Raphael followed them by the typical examples of monumental historical painting in the cartoons for the tapestries, while at the same time he also apotheosized the illustration of text. Here he frankly violated all the principles of decoration, applying to tapestry a treatment which tapestry should never have, but in return he obtained magnificent historical compositions, for in spite of sprawling fingers, writhing toes, and rolling eyes, and in spite, too, of a lack of subtile characterization which makes many of these figures academic, their movements and lines are grand. These car-

cost 70,000 crowns,[158] and is still preserved in the Papal chapel.[159]

For the Cardinal Colonna, Raphael painted a San Giovanni on canvas, which was an admirable work and greatly prized for its beauty by the cardinal, but the latter being attacked by a dangerous illness, and having been cured of his infirmity by the physican Messer Jacopo da Carpi, the latter desired to be presented with the picture of Raphael as his reward ; the cardinal, therefore, seeing his great wish for the same, and believing himself to be under infinite obligation to his physician, deprived himself of the work, and gave it to Messer Jacopo. It is now at Florence in the possession of Francesco Benintendi.[160]

toons are, as compositions, almost perfect. Although the pantomime is exaggerated, the story is told clearly and simply, indeed Raphael owes much of his reputation among English-speaking peoples to these cartoons, first, because they were preserved in England and accessible for reproduction in the last century when Italian travel was less frequent than now ; and secondly, because these scenes told Bible stories with a directness and force unrivalled since Giotto, with the new science of the great epoch, and with a freedom from mysticism which made them especially comprehensible to a Protestant people.

[158] Vasari's statement that 70,000 *scudi* were paid for the tapestries seems to be false, as is also the estimate of 50,000, given by Panvinius, *Vite de Pontefici*, II., p. 495. M. Müntz says (*Raphaël*, p. 480) that Leo X. himself assured Marcantonio Michiel, the Venetian, that they cost 15,000 gold ducats, that is to say, 1,500 apiece. Raphael was paid 1,000 ducats for the designs.

[159] In the same apartments of the Vatican another series of tapestries is preserved, the cartoons for which are lost. These tapestries were intended for the Consistorial Hall ; they are twelve in number and represent scenes from the life of Christ. Raphael had perhaps begun designs for them, but they are so inferior to the first series that he appears to have had little to do with them. Layard notes a Flemish character in some of the designs. M. Müntz thinks that here and there, though rarely, the hand of Raphael is shown, and believes that the master made certain studies for some of them, but that pupils, and even very inferior men, completed the series and changed his first designs, for some of the tapestries were not delivered till 1530. A set of tapestries (Children playing together) ordered by Leo X. has also been credited to Raphael ; eight fragments of these exist in Paris in the Hôtel of the Princess Mathilde Bonaparte. Another design of the same character, Children playing in a Wood, is so fine that Passavant attributes it without hesitation to Raphael himself.

[160] It is in the Uffizi, and according to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, it

Raphael also painted a picture for the Cardinal and Vice-chancellor Giulio de' Medici,[161] a Transfiguration namely, which was destined to be sent into France. This he executed with his own hand, and labouring at it continually, he brought it to the highest perfection, depicting the Saviour transfigured on Mount Tabor, with eleven of the disciples awaiting him at the foot of the Mount. To these is meanwhile brought a youth possessed of a spirit, who is also awaiting the descent of Christ, by whom he is to be liberated from the demon. The possessed youth is shown in a distorted attitude stretching forth his limbs, crying, rolling his eyes, and exhibiting in every movement the suffering he endures; the flesh, the veins, the pulses, are all seen to be contaminated by the malignity of the spirit, the terror and pain of the possessed being rendered further manifest by his

was largely executed by Giulio Romano. A similar picture is in the Louvre, and is perhaps the original rather than is the work in the Uffizi. Morelli thinks this last picture is by Sebastian del Piombo, and even believes that Michelangelo may have made the drawing for it, for Sebastian.

[161] In 1517 Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (afterward Pope Clement VII.) ordered for the city of Narbonne, of which he was titular bishop, two altar-pieces, one of Sebastian del Piombo (the Resurrection of Lazarus), one of Raphael. Their execution became a sort of competition between the two masters. Raphael's first idea for this picture was a Resurrection. J. C. Robinson in his Catalogue of the Oxford Drawings, has compared designs by Raphael in the collections of Mr. Mitchell, of Lille, Windsor, and Oxford, showing that in 1519 and 1520 the artist was studying the composition for a picture divided, like the Transfiguration, into upper and lower groups in violent action, and representing the Resurrection. But the master changed his idea and painted his famous last picture—the Transfiguration. Raphael died before it was finished, and Cardinal Giulio, deciding to keep the picture in Rome, gave it to the monks of San Pietro in Montorio. Passavant believes that Giulio Romano finished the picture, basing his belief on letters requesting that he, Giulio, should receive certain moneys completing the payment for the picture, but M. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 578, note 1, says that the Florentine archives prove that this payment was not made to Giulio but to Baldassare da Pescia, executor of Raphael's will. The picture is now in the Vatican Gallery. Raphael, in spite of his wish to paint the whole himself, was evidently forced by pressure of work to leave portions of the execution to pupils, probably to Giulio Romano, who did not fail to use his favorite lamp-black in the shadows. Studies for the picture exist in Vienna, the British Museum, Oxford, Chatsworth, the Louvre, the Ambrosiana in Milan, and the Malcolm Collection of London.

pallid colour and writhing gestures. This figure is supported by an old man in whose widely open eyes the light is reflected, he is embracing and seeking to comfort the afflicted boy, his knitted brow and the expression of his face show at once the apprehension he feels, and the force with which he is labouring to combat his fears ; he looks fixedly at the Apostles as if hoping to derive courage and consolation from their aspect. There is one woman among others in this picture who is the principal figure therein, and who, kneeling before the two just described, turns her head towards the apostles, and seems by the movement of her arms in the direction of the possessed youth, to be pointing out his misery to their attention. The Apostles also, some of whom are standing, some seated, and others kneeling, give evidence of the deep compassion they feel for that great misfortune.[162]

[162] Criticism in general for two hundred years has repeated after Vasari that the Transfiguration is the greatest of all pictures, and hyper-criticism has condemned the *composition* of the painting, because it is divided into two separate portions. The composition is not divided, but is made up of two cleverly united portions, and the picture is not Raphael's masterpiece and is more than equalled by several other works. But it is not in its arrangement that the Transfiguration fails, here as always Raphael proved himself a consummate master of composition. The picture suffers from its chronological place in the development of Raphael and of Italian art. He painted it in rivalry with Sebastian del Piombo, the *protégé* of Michelangelo, whose work in the Sistine had taken Italy by storm and profoundly influenced Raphael. The latter, who could be nobly dramatic, here in the effort to surpass Michelangelo becomes declamatory and violent. His personages gesticulate, spread their fingers, wriggle their toes, roll their eyes, and are ultra-academic. The color in the lower part of the picture is disagreeable, the shadows are black and the figures seem cut out of tin. Only Raphael, however, could have designed the picture, and it is full of beauties as well as of faults, and therefore is intensely interesting as a study in the psychological development of a master. But it does not hold us as do scores of other pictures, because Raphael has not put into it the irregularities, the subtleties of life, which would make it real and humanize it. He has not thought of characterization, but of composition, individual movements, and dramatic effect. The woman in the centre of the group is noble in attitude and proportions, is rounded and fine in her muscular construction, is beautiful in lines, but she is a generalization and would be commonplace were it not for her splendid pose. The upper part of the picture possesses great beauties ; here Raphael, as in the Liberation of Peter, becomes again a chiaroscurist, but the personages are insignificant in

In this work the master has of a truth, produced figures and heads of such extraordinary beauty, so new, so varied, and at all points so admirable, that among the many works executed by his hand, this, by the common consent of all artists, is declared to be the most worthily renowned, the most excellent, the most divine. Whoever shall desire to see in what manner Christ transformed into the Godhead should be represented, let him come and behold it in this picture. The Saviour is shown floating over the mount in the clear air; the figure, foreshortened, is between those of Moses and Elias, who, illumined by his radiance, awaken into life beneath the splendour of the light. Prostrate on the earth are Peter, James, and John, in attitudes of great and varied beauty, one has his head bent entirely to the ground, another defends himself with his hands from the brightness of that immense light, which proceeds from the splendour of Christ, who is clothed in vestments of snowy whiteness, his arms thrown open and the head raised towards heaven, while the essence and Godhead of all the three persons united in himself, are made apparent in their utmost perfection by the divine art of Raphael.

But as if that sublime genius had gathered all the force of his powers into one effort, whereby the glory and the majesty of art should be made manifest in the countenance of Christ; having completed that, as one who had finished the great work which he had to accomplish, he touched the pencils no more, being shortly afterwards overtaken by death.

Having now described the works of this most excellent artist, I will not permit myself to consider it a labour to say somewhat for the benefit of those who practise our calling respecting the manner of Raphael, before proceeding to the relation of such particulars as remain to be specified in re-

scale, and Taine says truly that the figures attitudinize, and that the Christ is a "swimmer striking out." In fact, no picture is fuller of contradictions than this last work of the immortal assimilator, who was affected by all art achievement, good and bad, that had gone before him, and who made it all his own.

gard to other circumstances of his life, and to those which relate to his death. In his childhood he had imitated the manner of his master, Pietro Perugino, but had greatly ameliorated the same, whether as regarded design, colouring, or invention: having done this, it then appeared to him that he had done enough, but when he had attained to a riper age he perceived clearly that he was still too far from the truth of nature. On becoming acquainted with the works of Leonardo da Vinci, who in the expression which he gave to his heads, whether male or female, had no equal, and who surpassed all other painters in the grace and movement which he imparted to his figures; seeing these works, I say, Raphael stood confounded in astonishment and admiration: the manner of Leonardo pleased him more than any other that he had ever seen, and he set himself zealously to the study thereof with the utmost zeal; by degrees therefore, abandoning, though not without great difficulty, the manner of Pietro Perugino, he endeavoured as much as was possible to imitate that of Leonardo. But whatever pains he took, and in spite of all his most careful endeavours, there were some points and certain difficulties of art in which he could never surpass the last named master. Many are without doubt of opinion that Raphael surpassed Leonardo in tenderness and in a certain natural facility, but he was assuredly by no means superior in respect of that force of conception and grandeur which is so noble a foundation in art, and in which few masters have proved themselves equal to Leonardo: Raphael has nevertheless approached him more nearly than any other painter, more particularly in the graces of colouring.

But to speak more exclusively of Raphael himself; in the course of time he found a very serious impediment, in that manner which he had acquired from Pietro in his youth, and which he had at the first so readily adopted: dry, minute, and defective in design, he could not completely divest himself of all recollection thereof, and this caused him to find the utmost difficulty in learning to treat

worthily the beauties of the nude form, and to master the methods of those difficult foreshortenings which Michael Angelo Buonarroti executed in his Cartoon, for the Hall of the Council in Florence. Now any artist, who might have lost all courage from believing that he had been previously throwing away his time, would never, however fine his genius, have accomplished what Raphael afterwards effected : for the latter, having so to speak, cured and altogether divested himself of the manner of Pietro, the better to acquire that of Michael Angelo, which was full of difficulties in every part, may be said, from a master to have almost become again a disciple and compelled himself by incredible labours to effect that in a few months, now that he was become a man, which even in his youthful days, and at the time when all things are most easily acquired, would have demanded a period of many years for its attainment. It is by no means to be denied, that he who is not early embued with just principles, or who has not entered from the first on that manner which he can be content to pursue, and who does not gradually obtain facility in the difficulties of the art, by means of experience, (seeking fully to comprehend every part and to confirm himself by practice in the knowledge of all,) will scarcely ever attain to perfection ; or if he do attain it, must do so at the cost of much longer time and greatly increased labour.

At the time when Raphael determined to change and ameliorate his manner, he had never given his attention to the nude form, with that degree of care and study which the subject demands, having drawn it from the life only after the manner which he had seen practised by Pietro his master, adding nevertheless to all that he did, that grace which had been imparted to him by nature. But he thenceforth devoted himself to the anatomical study of the nude figure, and to the investigation of the muscles in dead and excoriated bodies as well as in those of the living ; for in the latter they are not so readily to be distinguished, because of the impediment presented by the covering of the

skin, as in those from which the outer integuments have been removed ; but thus examined, the master learnt from them in what manner they acquire fulness and softness by their unity each in its due proportion, and all in their respective places, and how by the due management of certain flexures, the perfection of grace may be imparted to various attitudes as seen in different aspects. Thus also he became aware of the effects produced by the inflation of parts, and by the elevation or depression of any given portion or separate member of the body or of the whole frame. The same researches also made him acquainted with the articulations of the bones, with the distribution of the nerves, the course of the veins, etc., by the study of all which he rendered himself excellent in every point required to perfect the painter who aspired to be of the best : knowing, nevertheless, that in this respect he could never attain to the eminence of Michael Angelo ; like a man of great judgment as he was, he considered that painting does not consist wholly in the delineation of the nude form, but has a much wider field ; he perceived that those who possess the power of expressing their thoughts well and with facility, and of giving effective form to their conceptions, likewise deserve to be enumerated among the perfect painters ; and that he, who in the composition of his pictures shall neither confuse them by too much, nor render them poor by too little, but gives to all its due arrangement and just distribution, may also be reputed a judicious and able master.

But in addition to this, as Raphael rightly judged, the art should be further enriched by new and varied inventions in perspective, by views of buildings, by landscapes, by a graceful manner of clothing the figures, and by causing the latter sometimes to be lost in the obscurity of shadows, sometimes to come prominently forward into the clear light ; nor did he fail to perceive the importance of giving beauty and animation to the heads of women and children, or of imparting to all, whether male or female, young or old, such an amount of spirit and movement as may be suited to

the occasion. He gave its due value, likewise, to the attitudes of horses in battle scenes, to their movements in flight, and to the bold bearing of the warriors: the due representation of animals in all their varied forms, did not escape his consideration, still less did that of so portraying the likenesses of men that they may appear to be alive, and may be known for those whom they are intended to represent. Raphael perceived in like manner that innumerable accessories of other kinds and of all sorts were equally to be taken into account, as for example the ornament of the work by well arranged and beautiful draperies, and vestments of every kind; by due attention to the helmets and other parts of armour, to the appropriate clothing of the feet, and to the head-dresses of women: he saw that equal care should be accorded to the hair and head of figures, to vases, trees, grottoes, rocks, fires, the air, either turbid or serene, clouds, rains, tempests, lightnings, dews, the darkness of night, the moonlight, the sunshine, and an infinite variety of objects beside, to every one of which attention is demanded by the requirements of painting: all these things, I say, being well considered by Raphael, he resolved, since he could not attain to the eminence occupied by Michael Angelo on the point after which he was then labouring, to equal, or perhaps to surpass him in those other qualities that we have just enumerated, and thus he devoted himself, not to the imitation of Buonarroti, lest he should waste his time in useless efforts, but to the attainment of perfection in those parts generally of which we have here made mention.

And well would it have been for many artists of our day if they had done the same, instead of pursuing the study of Michael Angelo's works alone, wherein they have not been able to imitate that master, nor found power to approach his perfection, they would not then have exhausted themselves by so much vain effort, nor acquired a manner so hard, so laboured, so entirely destitute of beauty, being, as it is, without any merit of colouring and exceedingly poor in conception; but instead of this, might very possibly, by

the adoption of more extended views and the endeavour to attain perfection in other departments of the art, have done credit to themselves as well as rendered service to the world.

Having made the resolution above referred to, therefore, and learning that Fra Bartolommeo had a very good manner in painting, drew very correctly, and had a pleasing mode of colouring, although, with the intention of giving more relief to his figures, he sometimes made his shadows too dark: knowing all this, Raphael determined to adopt so much of the Monk's manner as he should find needful or agreeable to him; to take a medium course that is, as regarded design and colouring, and mingling with what he obtained from the manner of Fra Bartolommeo, other qualities selected from the best that he could find in other masters, of many manners, he thus formed one, which was afterwards considered his own, and which ever has been, and ever will be highly esteemed by all artists.

Thus his manner, was afterwards seen perfected in the Sybils [163] and Prophets of the work, executed as we have

[163] These frescoes were probably executed about 1514. They are at once the most Michelangelesque of Raphael's works, and some of the most beautiful figures which he ever painted. In assimilating the work of the great Florentine the Umbrian nevertheless remains distinctly himself, and Vasari does his single injustice to the master in claiming that the Sibyls contain only the inspiration of Michelangelo. They are the natural outcome of the assimilator Raphael, who having been influenced by Perugino, Leonardo, Bartolommeo, comes at last to Buonarotti. They hold, as single figures, perhaps as high a place as any of Raphael's creations, having almost the decorative grace of the women in his Jurisprudence, with more of science and possessing the force and robustness of the Farnesina nymphs, with infinitely more of precision, elegance, and beauty. Vasari's statements regarding Timoteo Viti, in relation with these subjects, have caused controversy. Passavant, recognizing the Sibyls as Raphael's, and thereby contradicting Vasari, rather arbitrarily handed over the Prophets to Timoteo because they were inferior as works of art to the other fresco. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle added to this criticism by ascribing the draperies of the Sibyls also to Timoteo. Morelli declares that Timoteo in 1518 was a highly esteemed and prosperous Urbinate artist, fifty years old or so, and much in request as a painter at Urbino. He claims that such a man would not go afield as assistant to the young Raphael, and sets down the whole story as an error of Vasari, followed by the later critics. See Italian Masters in German Galleries, pp. 291–313, for a long essay

said, for the Church of Santa Maria della Pace, and in the conduct of which he was greatly assisted by the circumstance of his having seen the work of Michelangelo in the Chapel of the Pope.[164] Nay, had Raphael remained constant to the manner as there seen, had he not endeavoured to enlarge and vary it, for the purpose of showing that he understood the nude form as well as Michael Angelo, he would not have lost any portion of the good name he had acquired; but the nude figures in that apartment of the Torre Borgia, wherein is depicted the Conflagration of the Borgo Nuovo, although certainly good, are not by any means all excellent, or perfect in every part. In like manner, those painted by this master on the ceiling of Agostino Chigi's Palace in the Trastevere, are not altogether satisfactory, since they want that grace and softness which were peculiar to Raphael; but the cause of this was, in great part, his having suffered them to be painted after his designs by other artists, an error, which judicious as he was, he soon became aware of, and resolved to execute the picture of the Transfiguration in San Pietro-a-Montorio, entirely with his own hand, and without any assistance from others. In this work, therefore, will be found, all those qualities which, as we have said, a good picture demands, and should exhibit: nay, had Raphael not used in this picture, almost as it were from caprice, the lamp black, or printer's black, which, as we have more than once remarked, does of its nature become evermore darker with

upon Timoteo and the young Raphael, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, pp. 212–221, for a description of the drawings, for the Sibyls and Prophets, existing in Oxford, the Uffizi, Lille, Vienna, and Chantilly.

[164] It is told of Raphael that he had received 500 ducats on account for his Sibyls; on his asking for the remainder due him, Chigi's cashier refused to pay more and demanded that the matter should be referred to an expert. Michelangelo was chosen, and going to Santa Maria della Pace, affirmed that each head was of itself worth 100 ducats. Chigi having been informed of the fact, immediately ordered his cashier to pay 400 ducats more, and said, "be courteous with Raphael, and satisfy him well, for if he makes us pay for the draperies too we shall be ruined." This story is told by Cinelli (*Bellezze di Firenze*, edition of 1677, p. 277).

time, and is thus injurious to the other colours used with it, had he not done this, I believe that the work would now be as fresh as when he painted it; whereas, it is on the contrary, not a little darkened.

I have thought proper to make these remarks at the close of this life, to the end, that all may discern the labour, study, and care to which this honoured artist constantly subjected himself, and with a view, more particularly, to the benefit of other painters, who may learn from what has been said, to avoid those impediments, from the influence of which the genius and judgment of Raphael availed to secure him. I will also add the further observation, that every man should content himself with performing such works as he may reasonably be supposed to be capable of and equal to, by his inclination and the gifts bestowed on him by nature, without seeking to contend for that which she has not qualified him to attain, and this let him do, that he may not uselessly spend his time, fatiguing himself vainly, nay, not unfrequently, to his own injury as well as discredit. Let it be observed, moreover, that when what has been accomplished suffices, it is not good to make further efforts, merely in the hope of surpassing those who by some special gift of nature, or by the particular favour accorded to them by the Almighty, have performed, or are performing, miracles in the art; for it is certain, that the man who has not the needful endowments, let him labour as he may, can never effect those things to which another, having received the gift from nature, has attained without difficulty; and of this we have an example among the old masters in Paolo Uccello, who, struggling against the natural bent of his faculties to make progress on a given path, went ever backwards instead. The same thing has been done in our own days, and but a short time since, by Jacopo da Pontormo; nay, examples have been seen in the experience of many others, as we have said before, and as will often be said again. And this is permitted to occur, perhaps, in order that when Heaven has distributed its

favours to mankind, each one may be content with the portion which has fallen to his lot.

But I have now discoursed respecting these questions of art at more length perhaps than was needful, and will return to the life and death of Raphael. This master lived in the strictest intimacy with Bernardo Divizio, Cardinal of Bibbiena, who had for many years importuned him to take a wife of his selection, nor had Raphael directly refused compliance with the wishes of the Cardinal, but had put the matter off, by saying that he would wait some three or four years longer. The term which he had thus set approached before Raphael had thought of it, when he was reminded by the Cardinal of his promise, and being as he ever was just and upright, he would not depart from his word, and therefore accepted a niece of the Cardinal himself for his wife. But as this engagement was nevertheless a very heavy restraint to him, he put off the marriage from time to time, insomuch that several months passed and the ceremony had not yet taken place.[165] Yet this was not done without a very honourable motive, for Raphael having been for many years in the service of the Count, and being the creditor of Leo X. for a large sum of money, had received an intimation to the effect, than when the Hall with which he was then occupied was completed, the Pontiff intended to reward him for his labours as well as to do honour to his talents by bestowing on him the red hat,[166] of which he meant to distribute a considerable number, many of them being designed for persons whose merits were greatly inferior to those of Raphael. The painter meanwhile did not

[165] Maria di Pietro Bibbiena is said to have died before Raphael. Pungileoni, however, affirms (see Milanesi, IV., p. 381, note) that, on the contrary, she married Bernardino Peruli, a gentleman of Urbino. It is, however, possible that the wife of Peruli, called Marietta, was another Maria Bibbiena, and not the one affianced to Raphael. Simone Ciarla seems to have hoped that Raphael would marry one of his own countrywomen, and would be thus induced to come occasionally to Urbino.

[166] The story of the hat is doubtful; no artist has ever received a cardinalate.

abandon the light attachment by which he was enchained, and one day on returning to his house from one of these secret visits, he was seized with a violent fever,[167] which being mistaken for a cold, the physicians inconsiderately caused him to be bled, whereby he found himself exhausted, when he had rather required to be strengthened. Thereupon he made his will, and, as a good Christian, he sent the object of his attachment from the house, but left her a sufficient provision wherewith she might live in decency; having done so much, he divided his property among his disciples;[168] Giulio Romano, that is to say, whom he al-

[167] Even M. Müntz, that stanch partisan of Vasari, does not believe this story. Raphael died of overwork; fatigue and fever were undoubtedly the direct causes of his death. He was carrying on the painting of the *Stanze*, the work in the Farnesina, the cartoons for the tapestries, an all-important competition with Michelangelo (through the medium of Sebastian del Piombo), was responsible for the conduct of the work upon St. Peter's, and had undertaken the tremendous task of reconstructing antique Rome. No human being could crowd all of this into his life, almost at one and the same time, without taxing his physical endurance to the utmost. The visits to the excavations of Rome have killed many strong men before and after Raphael's time, and the Roman fever made short work of the artist whom the whole city mourned. The Pope, who was soon to follow him, sent frequent messengers to his bedside. The envoy of the Duke of Ferrara hastened to acquaint his master with the painter's death. Pandolfo di Pico della Mirandola wrote Isabella Gonzaga, "for the moment, madam, you will not hear anything but that Raphael of Urbino died last night." Even Sebastian del Piombo had a good word for him, and many thought with Castiglione, "I cannot believe that I am in Rome now that my poor Raphael is gone; may God receive that blessed spirit." He died on Good Friday, March 6, 1520, between nine and ten o'clock of the night, at the age of exactly thirty-seven years, day for day, and on that night the very Vatican itself gave what to the superstitious was portentous presage of the evil come upon Rome, the walls of the papal apartments having cracked so badly that Leo took refuge in the rooms of Cardinal Cibo.

[168] The fortune left by Raphael amounted to some 16,000 ducats, equivalent to about $160,000 at the present value of money. His artistic possessions became the property of Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco Penni, his favorite pupils; they were also charged with the completion of the unfinished pictures of Raphael. Each of his servants received 300 ducats. The land which he had recently acquired in the Via Giulia was divided between his cousin, Antonio Battiferro of Urbino, and the goldsmith Antonio da San Marino. Funds were also left for the purchase of a house, the revenue from which was to serve to keep up the service of the chapel in the Pantheon, in which Raphael wished to be interred. He also left a provision for his in-

ways loved greatly, and Giovanni Francesco, with whom was joined a certain priest of Urbino, who was his kinsman, but whose name I do not know. He furthermore commanded that a certain portion of his property should be employed in the restoration of one of the ancient tabernacles in Santa Maria Ritonda,[169] which he had selected as his burial-place, and for which he had ordered that an altar, with the figure of Our Lady in marble, should be prepared; all that he possessed besides he bequeathed to Giulio Romano and Giovanni Francesco, naming Messer Baldassare da Pescia who was then Datary to the Pope, as his executor. He then confessed, and in much contrition completed the course of his life, on the day whereon it had commenced, which was Good Friday. The master was then in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and as he embellished the world by his talents while on earth, so it is to be believed that his soul is now adorning heaven.

After his death, the body of Raphael was placed at the upper end of the hall wherein he had last worked, with the

amorata, and the rest of his property went to his relations in Urbino. His executors were Baldasarre Turini and G. B. dell' Aquila. It is usually stated that Raphael left his palace to Cardinal Bibbiena. Proof to the contrary is, however, given in M. Müntz's *Raphaël*, pp. 674–75. The critic cites Visconti (*Istoria del ritrovamento delle spoglie mortali di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino*, Rome, 1836), and C. Milanesi, *Giornale storico degli Archivi toscani*, XV., p. 248 and following.

[169] Raphael's last resting-place is marked with a marble group by Lorenzetto, in accordance with the directions left in his will. Many persons believed that he was buried in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, in a chapel belonging to the Urbinate residents of Rome. All doubt was, however, set at rest by the opening of the tomb in the Pantheon in 1833. The skeleton was found in a good state of preservation, and for a month it was exposed to public view in a coffin raised on a catafalque around which lighted candles were kept burning. Three casts were made of the skull, one for the Emperor of Austria, one for the King of Prussia, and one for the Accademia di San Luca. At length, after a lapse of three hundred and thirteen years, the Roman populace again witnessed the burial of Raphael, which took place amid imposing ceremonies. The four hundredth anniversary of the birth of the painter was appropriately observed at Urbino and Rome on March 28, 1883. A procession of artists and literary men marched from the Capitol to the Pantheon, where a committee unveiled a bronze bust of Raphael and placed laurel wreaths upon the commemorative tablet.

picture of the Transfiguration, which he had executed for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, at the head of the corpse. He who, regarding that living picture, afterwards turned to consider that dead body, felt his heart bursting with grief as he beheld them. The loss of Raphael caused the Cardinal to command that this work should be placed on the High Altar of San Pietro-a-Montorio, where it has ever since been held in the utmost veneration for its own great value, as well as for the excellence of its author. The remains of this divine artist received that honourable sepulture which the noble spirit whereby they had been informed had so well deserved, nor was there any artist in Rome who did not deeply bewail the loss sustained by the departure of the Master, or who failed to accompany his remains to their repose.

The death of Raphael was in like manner bitterly deplored by all the papal court, not only because he had formed part thereof, since he had held the office of chamberlain to the Pontiff, but also because Leo X. had esteemed him so highly, that his loss occasioned that sovereign the bitterest grief. Oh most happy and thrice blessed spirit, of whom all are proud to speak, whose actions are celebrated with praise by all men, and the least of whose works left behind thee, is admired and prized !

When this noble artist died, well might Painting have departed also, for when he closed his eyes, she too was left as it were blind. But now to us, whose lot it is to come after him, there remains to imitate the good, or rather the excellent, of which he has left us the example, and as our obligations to him and his great merits well deserve to retain the most grateful remembrance of him in our hearts, while we ever maintain his memory in the highest honour with our lips. To him of a truth it is that we owe the possession of invention, colouring, and execution, brought alike and altogether to that point of perfection for which few could have dared to hope ; nor has any man ever aspired to pass before him.

And in addition to the benefits which this great master conferred on art, being as he was its best friend, we have the further obligation to him of having taught us by his life in what manner we should comport ourselves towards great men, as well as towards those of lower degree, and even towards the lowest; nay there was among his many extraordinary gifts one of such value and importance, that I can never sufficiently admire it, and always think thereof with astonishment. This was the power accorded to him by Heaven, of bringing all who approached his presence into harmony; an effect inconceivably surprising in our calling, and contrary to the nature of our artists, yet all, I do not say of the inferior grades only, but even those who lay claim to be great personages (and of this humour our art produces immense numbers,) became as of one mind, once they began to labour in the society of Raphael, continuing in such unity and concord, that all harsh feelings and evil dispositions became subdued and disappeared at the sight of him; every vile and base thought departing from the mind before his influence. Such harmony prevailed at no other time than his own. And this happened because all were surpassed by him in friendly courtesy as well as in art; all confessed the influence of his sweet and gracious nature, which was so replete with excellence, and so perfect in all the charities, that not only was he honoured by men, but even by the very animals, who would constantly follow his steps and always loved him.

We find it related, that whenever any other painter, whether known to Raphael or not, requested any design or assistance, of whatever kind, at his hands, he would invariably leave his work to do him service; he continually kept a large number of artists employed, all of whom he assisted and instructed with an affection which was rather as that of a father to his children, than merely as of an artist to artists. From these things it followed, that he was never seen to go to Court but surrounded and accompanied, as he left his house, by some fifty painters, all men of ability and

distinction, who attended him thus to give evidence of the honour in which they had held him.[170] He did not, in short, live the life of a painter, but that of a prince. Wherefore, oh art of Painting! well mightest thou for thy part, then esteem thyself most happy, having, as thou

[170] Raphael treated the art school as he did everything else—gave it a new impulse; he changed the *Bottega* into an Academy. At the beginning of the pontificate of Julius II. less than a dozen painters were established in Rome; in 1535, one hundred and eighty-three were enrolled in the company of St. Luke. (See M. Müntz's interesting chapter, *op. cit.*, pp. 659–664.) In Raphael's own train of scholars, were Giulio Pippi of Rome, Giovanni Francesco Penni and Perino del Vaga of Florence, Vincenzo Tamagni of S. Gimignano, three Bolognese—Bagnacavallo, Vincidore, and Marco Antonio Raimondi, Pellegrino of Modena, Battista Dosso of Ferrara, Ugo of Carpi, Baviera of Parma, Genga of Urbino, Cesare of Sesto, Giovanni of Udine, Polidoro of Caravaggio, and Agostino (the engraver) of Venice. The Fleming, Van Orley, was also either pupil of Raphael or greatly influenced by him. There seems to have been a peculiar unity, due to the master's personality, among these pupils, and it was undoubtedly in memory of Raphael that Perino del Vaga and Antonio da San Gallo founded at the Pantheon, in 1542, the corporation called "*La Congregazione dei Virtuosi*," which exists at the present day.

The most prolific of Raphael's brilliant train of scholars, a sort of chief-of-staff indeed, was Giulio di Piero Pippi de' Januzzi, called Giulio Romano, born in Rome, 1492. His part in the Vatican frescoes was especially important; for the same and for many of the paintings, and even drawings designed by Raphael but executed wholly or in part by Giulio, see various notes in this life. His *rôle* in the creation of the Villa Madama was also an important one. After the death of Raphael, Giulio entered the service of Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua, was made a noble, painted extensive frescoes in the Palazzo del T. and in the Castello, left architectural works of all sorts in Mantua, and died there in 1546. Giulio's forms were coarse but robust, his coloring red and bricky, but his best work has much of the strength and forceful inventiveness of his epoch.

Perino del Vaga (Piero Buonaccorsi of Florence), 1499–1547, had an important part in the *Loggie* of the Vatican; see note 132. After Raphael's death he painted in Genoa for Andrea Doria, and afterward in Rome became a *protégé* of Paul III. and the Farnese.

The Florentine, Giovanni Francesco Penni, called Il Fattore (1496?–1536), was another of Raphael's right-hand men and a worker in the *Loggie* upon the tapestry borders, etc. Giovanni da Udine stood for the purely decorative (in the ornamental sense) side of Raphael's art, his stuccoes and grotesques (in the Villa Madama, the *Loggie* of the Vatican, the Farnesina, Medici Palace of Florence, Medici Chapel of Michelangelo, Laurentian Library) are world famous. Giovanni, whose full name was Giovanni de' Ricamatori (or di Nanni) was born in 1487 and died in 1564.

hadst, one artist among thy sons, by whose virtues and talents thou wert thyself exalted to heaven. Thrice blessed indeed may'st thou declare thyself, since thou hast seen thy disciples, by pursuing the footsteps of a man so exalted, acquire the knowledge of how life should be employed, and become impressed with the importance of uniting the practice of virtue to that art. Conjoined as these were in the person of Raphael, their force availed to constrain the greatness of Julius II. and to awaken the generosity of Leo X., both of whom, high as they were in dignity, selected him for their most intimate friend, and treated him with every kind of familiarity; insomuch that by means of the favour he enjoyed with them and the powers with which they invested him, he was enabled to do the utmost honour to himself and to art. Most happy also may well be called those who, being in his service, worked under his own eyes; since it has been found that all who took pains to imitate this master have arrived at a safe haven, and attained to a respectable position. In like manner, all who do their best to emulate his labours in art, will be honoured on earth, as it is certain that all who resemble him in the rectitude of life will receive their reward in heaven.

The following epitaph was written on Raphael by the Cardinal Bembo.

D. O. M.
RAPHAELI. SANOTO.* JOAN. F. VRBINATI.
PICTORI EMINENTISS. VETERVMQ AEMVLO.
CVIVS SPIRANTEIS PROPE IMAGINEIS
SI CONTEMPLERE,
NATVRAE. ATQVE ARTIS FOEDVS
FACILE INSPEXERIS,
IVLII II. ET LEONIS X.† PONT. MAX.
PICTVRAE ET ARCHITECT. OPERIBVS
GLORIAM AVXIT.
VIXIT. AN. XXXVII. INTEGER. INTEGROS.
QVO. DIE NATVS EST, EO ESSE DESIIT.
VII.‡ ID. APRIL. MDXX.
ILLE HIC. EST. RAPHAEL, TIMVIT. QUO. SOSPITE. VINCI
RERUM. MAGNA. PARENS, ET MORIENTE. MORI.

* *Sanctio* in the Milanesi edition. † *Pontt. Maxx.* in the Milanesi edition.
‡ *VIII. Id. April* in the Milanesi edition.

The Count Baldassare Castiglione also wrote respecting the death of this master in the manner following :—

Quod lacerum corpus medica sanaverit arte,
Hippolytum, Stygiis et revocarit aquis ;
Ad Stygias ipse est raptus Epidaurius undas ;
Sic precium vitae mors fuit artifici.
Tu quoque dum toto laniatam corpore Romam
Componis miro, Raphael, ingenio ;
Atque Urbis lacerum ferro, igni, annisque cadaver,
Ad vitam, antiquum jam revocasque decus.
Movisti superum invidiam, indignataque mors est,
Te dudum extinctis reddere posse animam,
Et quod longa dies paullatim aboleverat, hoc te
Mortali spreta lege parara iterum.
Sic miser heu ! prima cadis intercepte juventa,
Deberi et morti nostraque nosque mones.[171] [172] [173] [174] [175]

[171] Lodovico Ariosto in *Carminum*, lib. II., also expressed his sorrow for Raphael's death.

[172] Many well known works of Raphael, and some famous ones, are not mentioned by Vasari. Among these are the Holy Family of Francis I. (Louvre), according to Morelli painted entirely by Giulio Romano ; the Apollo and Marsyas (Louvre), said by Morelli to be by some other master having close affinity with the style of Perugino ; the Knight's Dream (National Gallery) ; the Garvagh or Aldobrandini Madonna (National Gallery) ; the Madonna of the Casa Alba (Hermitage of St. Petersburg) ; the Costabili Madonna (in the same gallery) ; the *Madonna della Tenda*, probably executed by Giulio Romano (Munich) ; the Esterhazy Madonna (Pesth) ; the Cowper Madonna (Panshanger Castle) ; the Madonna of Casa Tempi (Munich) ; the Bridgewater Madonna (Bridgewater House), possibly painted by Francesco Penni. There are also two famous Madonnas in Florence, the *Gran Duca* and the *Seggiola*, or *Madonna della Sedia*. The *Gran Duca* is one of the loveliest and best known of Raphael's earlier works, and is in the Pitti. The *Madonna della Seggiola*, or "of the Chair" comes very near to being the most popular of all his Madonnas. It is a circular picture admirably composed, painted about 1516, and is now in the Pitti. Critics have found the faces of mother and child full of poetic beauty of a rapt and inspired character, but the picture would seem rather to express the physical aspect of maternity concentrated and emphasized by the attitudes of both mother and child. The infant Saviour, though a beautiful boy, is still a realistic Italian baby, almost a little animal, nestling up to the warm side of its mother, like a young bird crowding down into the soft nest. The color of the picture is agreeable but a trifle commonplace, and lacking in distinction if compared for instance with the Leo X. Among the portraits executed by Raphael or attributed to him and not included in Vasari's life, are the Baldassare Castiglione of the Louvre, the Bibbiena of the Pitti,

the woman called La Gravida, also in the Pitti, the Queen Joanna of Arragon (Louvre, the execution of this portrait is by some critics not ascribed to Raphael), and a youth resting his head on his hand (in the same gallery), the Violin-player in the Sciarra Colonna Palace at Rome (*circa* 1513), (this latter is attributed by Morelli to Sebastian del Piombo). For long and interesting essays upon all the portraits see the two volumes by F. A. Gruyer, called *Raphaël peintre de portraits*, in which the author unites to his own original reflections a great number of documents bearing upon the subject. There is a portrait of a cardinal, probably Alidosi, in Madrid, and Layard in his Kugler, II., p. 529, ascribes to Raphael a portrait of Francesco Penni, formerly at The Hague, and the heads of two lawyers, Bartolo and Baldo, in the Doria Gallery of Rome. A portrait in the Borghese Gallery, has been attributed to Raphael by famous critics and rejected by other equally celebrated connoisseurs; Raphael's portrait of himself, in the Uffizi, should also be mentioned here. It was painted in 1506, when he was twenty-six years old, for his maternal uncle, Simone Ciarla.

[173] A papal brief of 1515 authorized Raphael to acquire marbles and other stones for St. Peter's at a reasonable price. All persons were forbidden under heavy penalties from using stones dug from the ruins of Rome without Raphael's permission; all inscriptions were also to be saved under similar penalties; all finders of marbles were to report the fact to the artist within three days. Raphael's jurisdiction included the country ten miles around Rome; he thus had control over all the excavations of Rome, and we are undoubtedly indebted to him for the preservation of some of the most interesting antiquities of the city, as in the report to the Pope (1519) mentioned below he urges the Pope to have the old buildings preserved.

Two original texts of the report called Raphael's, on the edifices of antique Rome and the method of drawing plans of the same remain. One was found in the Library of the Marquis Scipione Maffei; it was published by the brothers Volpi at Padua in 1733, in the works of Count Baldassare Castiglione. The other and later text was found in the Royal Library at Munich in 1834; some of the sheets have plans of antique ruins. This text is published both in the original Italian and in French, in Passavant, *Raphael d' Urbin*, I., p. 263, and p. 508.

This report was until 1799 considered to be the work of Castiglione, but Abate D. Francesconi (*Congettura che una lettera creduta di Baldassar Castiglione sia di Raffaello d' Urbino*, Florence, 1799) brought forward proofs in support of his belief that Raphael was the author of the report, and that it was only revised by Castiglione. His views are very generally received by the best critics; there have, however, been some dissenting voices. Herr Hermann Grimm, in the *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1871, p. 77, suggests that the report was the work of the antiquary Andrea Fulvio. M. Müntz, *Raphaël*, pp. 620–623, shows that there are reasons for considering this theory untenable, and brings forward weighty arguments, some of which have equal force as directed against the hypothesis of Herr Anton Springer that Fra Giocondo was the author of the *Rapport*.

Vasari also adds his quota to the evidence which tends to show that the report was really the work of Raphael, for he distinctly states that in gather-

ing materials for his own lives he was aided by the writings of Lorenzo Ghiberti, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and Raphael of Urbino. It is probable that Vasari here refers to Raphael's report. M. Müntz even believed that he had discovered the passage used by Vasari in a reference in a *Proemio* to the arch of Constantine.

In its substance this report is an eulogium upon antiquity. The author eloquently deplores the barbarian invasion and the vandalism of pontiffs, who in their turn and for their own purpose, destroyed the ancient monuments. In place of this destruction he proposes to undertake the restoration by measurement, ground plans, cross-sections, and elevations of the buildings of the Romans.

This tremendous archæological undertaking aroused the greatest enthusiasm, and the loss of Raphael the antiquary was as great a blow to the circle of Leo X. as that of Raphael the painter. The author of the report speaks with true Renaissance contempt of Gothic architecture, and with respect, but also with moderation, of the buildings of his own time. M. Müntz claims that Raphael in this report is the first modern man to consider architectural styles as a real historian, and also the first to discover that the painting and sculpture of the old Romans declined long before their architecture showed signs of decadence. This discovery, he states clearly and pointedly, citing the *reliefs* upon the Arch of Constantine, the paintings of the time of Diocletian and comparing them with the excellent architecture of the same periods.

[174] Some of Raphael's sonnets, as well as some of his letters, are given in Passavant's *Raphael d' Urbin*, I., pp. 491-504. See also Grimm, *Das Leben Raphaels von Urbino*, and L. Fagan, Raffaello Sanzio, his Sonnet in the British Museum, London, 1884. This same sonnet is reproduced in facsimile in Müntz, *Raphaël*, p. 367. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle think that Raphael early recognized that the gift of poetry was denied him, and that he ceased to write verses almost immediately after he first attempted them.

[175] The study of the works of Raphael is necessarily the study of the evolution of the pictorial art of Central Italy. For two hundred years great painters had been working at problems of suggestion, expression, and technical achievement. Giotto had taught art to be real and dramatic, grand and simple at once; the naturalists had learned to paint man, their greater contemporaries to express him in his essential attributes; Masaccio had made man's body a solid realization in an ambient environment; Botticelli had used that body as a sort of pattern for lovely decorative composition of lines; Ghirlandajo had found in it a pretext for dignified portraiture; Signorelli had made it material for the expression of movement by muscular construction; Perugino had pierced its envelope for the pietistic ecstasy beneath. Each of these men, with more or less width of purpose and scope of realization, had cultivated his own vantage-point till the art fields of Italy were indeed those of the *Blüthe Zeit*.

Then came Raphael, the grand harvester, and bound up the sheaves of the Renaissance. First were seen the fruits of his native Umbria as Raphael, still almost a boy, learned of Timoteo Viti, then but a little later gave to the world a new Perugino, with fresher feeling, freer movement, and better architecture. Next came the Florentine period, so rich in influences of the loftiest order, of

Leonardo da Vinci, of Michelangelo, and of Fra Bartolommeo; the latter, even in this early time setting Raphael in the pathway of monumental composition and beckoning him onward by his own (Fra Bartolommeo's) Last Judgment to the fresco of San Severo at Perugia and thence to the *Disputà*. But Rome was the theatre of the main outcome of these influences; Raphael's Florentine era is rather that of his Madonnas. These, from the character of the subject, a mother and child, have been with a certain public, and a very large one, the most popular works of their author. This admiration, while justified and perhaps not too lavish, has certainly been indiscriminate. Praise of *all* the Madonnas has estranged some real lovers of art because of its misapplication, and because, after hearing this praise of an individual work, they have been brought face to face with a picture ruined by overpainting and ignorant restoration. Some of these Madonnas in the completed picture offer a certain painty woodenness of execution that is unpleasing; often the face is almost sheepish, with its retreating chin, its tiny mouth, and blank look. But the observer remembers how many hands have defaced the surface of these canvases, and recalls the real Raphael their creator, the maker of the beautiful studies for them, studies which are often as different from the present complete and over-complete pictures as are fresh flowers from pressed ones. Later, and in Rome, Raphael painted the magnificent Madonnas of Foligno and of San Sisto, and even in his Florentine period the beautiful *Gran Duca* Virgin and some of her sisters rise to his highest level, but in this long succession of minor Madonnas what we may most of all admire is the evolution of composition, and the fact that with such simple means—three figures, a mother and two children, or at most with the addition of Saints Anna and Joseph—Raphael rang all the changes of possible arrangement and always with ease and without straining.

In Rome, the world's focus, Raphael declared himself for what he was, the supreme assimilator of all and every material that was fitted for the purposes of art. In the work of the men who had preceded him he saw almost instinctively what was best suited to the needs of pictorial presentation, what was best worth saving, perpetuating, sublimating, and what was better still, in his observation of nature the same instinct guided him. He seemed to perfect each phase of art after investing it with the resources of the new science. He again gave to the world Giotto's grand simplicity in some of the scenes of the Vatican *Loggie*. In the cartoons for the tapestries Giotto's clear, straight narration is felt in spite of theatrical gesture, and the cartoons are thus not only monumental, if academic compositions, but model illustrations of text. In the portrait if Raphael feels at first that portraiture is only the frank unaffected representation of such a stupid model as Maddalena Doni, he soon passes onward to stronger characterization, to greater distinction, and the extraction of the essence, in works like the Julius II., and then finds in his Leo X. that the portrait may also be the subject for a decorative scale of color and for dexterous texture-handling. Some of the fifteenth-century painters, Botticelli especially, had made the human body, with its wonderful silhouette, into the greatest of decorative factors, a kind of pattern delightful to the eye. Raphael, without forgetting character or the story, made vast frescoes into such patterns, using groups as Botticelli had used figures. In the art of composition

the painter is the guide, the director of his audience. By concentration he first focuses the eye of his spectator upon the point in his work which he wishes to be most important; from this, by the ordering of his lines or lights, he draws the eye on to that portion of the work which he wishes to next receive the attention, and thus he leads us onward always from point to point with a sense of ease and well-being born of the wise distribution of the masses, the chiaroscuro, and the contours. This is an involuntary itinerary upon the part of the spectator, but it is productive of infinite delight, and of this art of composition Raphael was the greatest master of the modern world. His passion for synthesis was so strong that he saw all things in relation, and sometimes forgot detail to such an extent that for the sake of arranging the *ensemble*, of finding time for the distribution, he left the execution to the hands that all but ruined his work.

In an analysis of Raphael's achievement nothing is so puzzling as this obtrusion of the pupil and assistant between us and and the master. Raphael's great reputation induced a multiplication of patrons, his wish to please occasioned the acceptance of multifarious orders, which in turn made the use of assistants inevitable. Posterity has gained enormously in the mass of work executed, and has lost in its quality. Has gain or loss preponderated? Who shall say? Certain writers adduce the fact that Michelangelo had no assistants, and claim that this constitutes a greater artistic integrity, a greater sense of obligation toward his own art. But there are many things to be considered in such a comparison of the two men. Raphael accepted a multitude of commissions and carried them out by the hands of others; his character before all else required that the art scheme of his work should be shown in compositional completeness. Michelangelo accepted a multitude of commissions, but as he was too different from other men to tolerate collaboration, he left most of his commissions unfinished and many of them rough-hewn. Undoubtedly he felt the mystery and power of the half-hewn rock, and at times deliberately used this mystery; but just as undoubtedly he left much undone simply because he, like Raphael, "disdained to consider the exigencies of time." We may, therefore, admit that either artist left much of his work half fulfilled; but where, in the case of Buonarotti, one-half is lacking, with the Urbinate one-half is complicated by the fact that an inferior master has been thrust between the originator and the spectator of the work. Even in some of the Florentine Madonnas there is a wooden, painty look very unlike anything to be found, for instance in the *Gran Duca*. The spectator attributes this imperfection to the pupil-assistant. In the great Madonnas of Rome certain inferior portions of the pictures are parcelled out by critics to so many scholars or co-workers. In the *Stanze* of the Vatican, Raphael sets an example in the *Disputà* and School of Athens, then makes way for pupils; even in these two frescoes there is much that the master's hand may not have touched. In the Mass of Bolsena and the Jurisprudence Raphael again appears at his best, but in the Heliodorus with its magnificent movement we find academic exaggeration, *enflure*, the profiles of Giulio Romano and his coarse coloring, and in the Battle of Ostia the color is still worse. In the *Loggie* of the Vatican Raphael is, as it were, only the composer and leader of the orchestra, and even this is suf-

ficient for the attainment of a magnificent result. In the Farnesina again he composes and directs, but here the brick reds of Giulio Romano, the violent blues of the later restorations, have made so many false notes that Michelangelo's correspondent, Leonardo the Saddler, was not far wrong in his condemnation. Thus, in the consideration of Raphael's *technique*, the critic has constantly to attempt to disentangle the work of the master from that of the pupil.

We find, Raphael as draughtsman, in his scratch drawings, his pen-and-ink sketches, his wonderful hasty dashing down of ideas, and again in the close and almost pitiless characterization of some of his portraits. He could be a colorist when he chose; he has proved it in his Mass of Bolsena; the *Gran Duca* Madonna, too, shows the Umbrian, the master who had learned of Timoteo and Perugino; the *Disputà* is agreeable in color; the portrait of Leo X. shows a distinct *scheme* of color most unusual to the Tuscan Renaissance. But Raphael never cared supremely for color, indeed forgot all about it in his eagerness to express character and significance by form, decorative significance by composition. Had this not been the case he could never have tolerated the two oblong ceiling panels of the Farnesina, or, above all, have sent the St. Michael of the Louvre to Francis I. It is useless to even cite Vasari here and say that colors have changed, and that lamp-black has done its evil work. Sebastian del Piombo has proved to us at the time that the color of the St. Michael was as bad then as now, gaudily "painted iron" and "smoked" at that. But collaboration, which is potent to blunt outline, to distort modelling, to coarsen color, is almost powerless to affect composition; here, therefore, we always see Raphael for what he was, the supreme master.

It is academic exaggeration, and the coarse generalization of collaborators that have made some of Raphael's works even repellent to certain minds, and especially to young art students. The student eager to study nature as it is, compares some of the figures in the *Stanze*, more especially some of the figures in the tapestry cartoons or the Farnesina frescoes, with the almost impeccable technical work of certain modern French artists, and he is angered. "Is this," he asks, "your boasted Raphael? Are these straining eyeballs, and splaying fingers, and formal curls, and sugar-loaf noses like nature? Am I to learn from them?" To which the answer is: "These are the faults of Raphael, exaggerated by lesser men, and because they are exaggerations they are obvious and seen first of all." The real Raphael must be sought for in his own thought, his studies, the works which he executed himself. Even in those done by pupils the spiritual significance of the master's conception often pierces the envelope, and we see him at once powerful and serene; in the long line of his Madonnas there is no repetition, and no sense of fatigue, and in his frescoes he laid down the lines of monumental composition. The same student who has compared Raphael's *technique* with that of the modern French master may say, for instance, even while admitting their style and character, that the silhouettes of the women in the medallions of the *Camera della Signatura* are coarse in outline, that the construction of their faces will not bear analysis. But when that modern painter has a medallion to fill and has tried one arrangement after another he inevitably realizes that it is Ra-

phael who has found the best ordering that could be found, and the modern painter builds upon his lines, laid down so distinctly that the greater the practice of the artist the more complete becomes his realization of Raphael's comprehension of essentials in composition.

For the types which he elected to present we must study his own works, not those executed by pupils who did not have before them that "certain ideal" which the master tells us was always before his mental vision. His male figures, from the *putto* of San Luca to the Jehovah of the Pitti, are the descendants of athletes and demigods—calm, vigorous, and beautiful. But they are not citizens of the antique world, to them Raphael has added something of his own, an indescribable air of sweetness and goodness. His women are the Perugian Madonnas who have "passed through the Sistine Chapel," and added nobility and amplitude of style to their original gentleness and serenity. Here and there in the great compositions we find a portrait, a sly, subtle face like Bibbiena's mercilessly characterized, or a beautiful youth, spirited but still modest and grave, like the son of Isabella d' Este, but more often the types are generalized.

The comparison of Raphael with Michelangelo is inevitable, but not very profitable; each sat upon the mountain-top, one in clouds the other in sunshine; for Buonarotti's *terribilitá* we have Raphael's serenity; in either quality there is power; Michelangelo's was the most overwhelming personality in the history of modern art, a whole generation struggled in its shadow and could not escape its fascination. Raphael used the personalities of all the greatest artists of his time and made some of their best his own. His working life was only a little more than a quarter as long as the span of nearly seventy years of labor allotted to his great rival, Michelangelo. Raphael is the typically youthful artist, and therein is forever the very archetype of the Renaissance, of the New Birth, of the epoch when the world was young again, and men turned east and west, upward and onward, to the arts with Leonardo, to the seas with Columbus, to the heavens with Copernicus in dauntless conviction that their question if earnestly asked should assuredly find an answer somewhere in the great economy of nature.

ANDREA DEL SARTO, THE MOST EXCELLENT FLORENTINE PAINTER

[Born 1486; died 1530.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—L. Biadi, *Notizie inedite della Vita d' Andrea del Sarto*, Florence, 1829. *Pitture a fresco d'Andrea del Sarto nella Compagnia dello Scalzo, incise ed illustrate*, Florence, 1830. M. Missirini, *Pitture a fresco di A. del Sarto, e d' altri celebri autori*, Florence, 1834. Von Reumont, *Andrea del Sarto*, Leipsic, 1835. A. Chiari, *Pitture a fresco di Andrea del Sarto, e d'altri celebri autori*, Florence, 1847. H. Janitschek, *Andrea del Sarto*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler*. Paul Mantz, *André del Sarte*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Second Period, 1876, XIV., p. 465; 1877, XV., pp. 38, 261, 338. L. Scott (*pseud.*), Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, London, 1881. Andrea del Sarto, W. R. Rossetti in Encyc. Brit. Pendler, *Andrea del Sarto's Madonna mit Heiligen aus dem Museum in Berlin*, in *Illustrirte Zeitung*, n. 2378, 92 *Band*. Tr. (T.), *Der wiedergewonnene Andrea del Sarto des Berliner Museums* (*Kunstchronik*, 1888, n. 6). Bernhard Berenson, The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1896. T. A. Trollope, An Artist's Tragedy, *Temple Bar Magazine*, London, 1870. For the Portraits of del Sarto, see *L'Artiste*, 1864, II., p. 172, Paris, 1864.

AT length then we have come, after having written the lives of many artists who have been distinguished, some for colouring, some for design, and some for invention; we have come, I say, to that of the truly excellent Andrea del Sarto, in whom art and nature combined to show all that may be done in painting, when design, colouring, and invention unite in one and the same person. Had this master possessed a somewhat bolder and more elevated mind, had he been as much distinguished for higher qualifications as he was for genius and depth of judgment in the art he practised, he would beyond all doubt, have been without an equal. But there was a certain timidity of mind, a sort of diffidence and want of force in his nature, which rendered it impossible that those evidences of ardour and animation, which are proper to the more exalted char-

acter, should ever appear in him ; nor did he at any time display one particle of that elevation which, could it but have been added to the advantages wherewith he was endowed, would have rendered him a truly divine painter : wherefore the works of Andrea are wanting in those ornaments of grandeur, richness, and force, which appear so conspicuously in those of many other masters. His figures are nevertheless well drawn, they are entirely free from errors, and perfect in all their proportions, and are for the most part simple and chaste : the expression of his heads is natural and graceful in women and children, while in youths and old men it is full of life and animation. The draperies of this master are beautiful to a marvel, and the nude figures are admirably executed, the drawing is simple, the colouring is most exquisite, nay, it is truly divine.

Andrea was born in Florence, in the year 1488, his father was a tailor, for which cause he was always called Andrea del Sarto [1] by every one. Having attained the age of seven, he was taken from the reading and writing school, to be placed with a goldsmith, and while thus employed, was always more willing to occupy himself with drawing than with the use of the chisel, or of such tools as are used by the goldsmith to work in silver and gold. Now it chanced that Gian Barile,[2] a Florentine painter, but one of a coarse and plebeian taste, had remarked the good manner which the child displayed in drawing, and took him to himself, making him abandon the art of the goldsmith and causing

[1] Andrea d' Agnolo di Francesco di Luca was born July 16, 1486. His family name was not Vannuchi or Vannucchio, as has been generally supposed, and the monogram which he used in his works does not consist of an A and a V, but of two interlaced A's, which stand for Andrea and Agnolo. Andrea del Sarto really means "the tailor's Andrew." The tradition that he was of Flemish origin is now disproved. He was born in Florence, in the Gualfonda quarter, where his parents remained until 1504, when they removed to the San Paolo district.

[2] Giovanni Barile, who should not be confounded with Barile the Sienese *intagliatore*, was born in 1486 ; Giovanni's brother, Andrea Barile, born 1468, was therefore probably the first master who taught Andrea del Sarto. See Milanesi, V., p. 7, and Della Valle, *Lettere Sanesi*, III., p. 324.

him to give his attention to that of painting. In this, Andrea accordingly began to occupy himself to his very great pleasure, and soon perceived with joy that nature had formed him for that vocation : in a very short space of time, therefore, he was seen to do such things with the colours, that Gian Barile and the other artists of the city, were struck with astonishment. After the lapse of three years, having been very zealous in his studies, he was found to have attained much skill in execution, and Gian Barile, perceiving that if the boy continued his endeavours, he would certainly make an extraordinary painter, spoke concerning him to Piero di Cosimo,[3] who was then considered one of the best masters in Florence, and finally placed Andrea under his care. Full of anxiety to learn his art, the latter studied without ceasing, and his perpetual labour, conjoined with the natural endowments which proved him to be born a painter, produced so great an effect, that when handling the colours, he displayed a grace and facility which could scarcely have been surpassed by one who had used the same for fifty years.

Piero consequently soon conceived a very great affection for his disciple, and heard with indescribable pleasure that whenever Andrea had a little time to himself, more particularly on festival days, he spent the whole of it in drawing, with other young men, in the hall of the Pope, where was then the cartoon of Michelagnolo, with that of Leonardo da Vinci, and that he there, although still but a youth, surpassed all the other students, natives as well as strangers, who were almost perpetually vieing with each other in that place.

But of all those whom he thus met, Franciabigio[4] was the one whose character and conversation were most agreeable to Andrea del Sarto, and as the latter was equally accept-

[3] Andrea acquired some of the characteristics of the eccentric Piero di Cosimo (1462–1521), who was a pupil of Rosselli, but these characteristics nearly disappeared before the influence of Leonardo and Michelangelo.

[4] Francesco di Cristoforo Bigi (1482–1524), commonly called Francia Bigio, pupil of Albertinelli.

able to Franciabigio, they became friends; Andrea then confessed to Francia that he could no longer endure the eccentricity of Piero, who had now become old, and that he had therefore determined to seek an abode for himself. Now it chanced that Franciabigio was on the point of doing the same thing, being compelled thereto by the circumstance of his master, Mariotto Albertinelli, having abandoned the art of painting: hearing what Andrea said therefore, he told him that he also had to take a similar step, and remarked to his companion at the same time, that it would be for the benefit of both if they were to establish themselves together. They hired a dwelling accordingly, on the Piazza del Grano,[5] and executed many works in company; among them, certain hangings or curtains wherewith to cover the pictures on the High Altar of the Church of the Servites, the commission for which they received from a Sacristan who was a near relation of Franciabigio. On one of these curtains they depicted an Annunciation of Our Lady; this was on the curtain suspended toward the choir, and on the other they executed a Deposition of Christ from the Cross, similar to that which is in the picture of the same church painted, as we have before observed, by Filippo and Pietro Perugino.[6]

The members of the Company called that of the Barefooted Brothers, of San Giovanni Battista, were accustomed to assemble at the end of the Via Larga in Florence, above the houses which belong to the illustrious Ottaviano de' Medici, and opposite to the garden of San Marco, in a building which had been erected at that time by several Florentine artists, who had there constructed, among other things, an

[5] Andrea matriculated as a painter December 12, 1508. See Milanesi, V., p. 8, note 1. Paul Mantz (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, p. 338, Vol. XV., Second Period) says that Andrea's name does not appear upon the "old book of the corporation of painters of Florence" till 1526, and wonders greatly at this tardy date. Milanesi's statement is, however, explicit as to his entrance into the *Arte de' medici e speziale*, the guild which included the painters.

[6] These works are lost; the curtains were really painted by Andrea Feltrini in 1510. See Milanesi, V., p. 8.

outer court or quadrangle, the loggia whereof reposed on columns of no great height. Some of the members of that brotherhood therefore, perceiving that Andrea was likely to become a most excellent painter, and being richer in spirit than in pocket, resolved that he should paint stories in fresco from the life of San Giovanni around that cloister, twelve compartments namely, executed in chiaro-scuro with *terretta*.[7] Having set hand to this work accordingly, An-

[7] These frescoes, which have suffered much from exposure, are now protected by glass. Their true order is as follows, beginning on the right of the entrance: 1. Allegorical figure of Faith (1520). 2. Announcement of the Birth of John the Baptist to Zacharias (1523). 3. The Visitation (1524). 4. Birth of John the Baptist (1526). 5. By Franciabigio: Departure of John from his Father's House (1518). 6. By Franciabigio: Meeting of John and Jesus (1519). 7. By Andrea and Franciabigio: The Baptism of Christ (Milanesi, 1514), this was the first fresco of the series. 8. Charity (1520). 9. Justice (1515). 10. John Preaching (1515). 11. John Baptizing (1516). 12. John made a Prisoner (1517). 13. Dance of Herodias' Daughter (1522). 14. Beheading of John the Baptist (1523). 15. Bringing the Head of John the Baptist to Herod (1523). 16. Hope (1523). There are studies in the Uffizi for Numbers 12 and 15.

After the Sistine Chapel of Michelangelo and the Vatican *Stanze* of Raphael, there is no series of frescoes of the beginning of the sixteenth century more interesting than these painted in *grisaglio* by Andrea del Sarto in the cloister of the Barefooted Friars (*Chiostro dello Scalzo*) and representing scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist. In them Andrea has shown himself capable of a feat to which no other save Raphael was equal. That is to say, he has experienced the influence of Michelangelo without being overpowered by it. These works are permeated with the spirit of Buonarotti and yet Andrea has not lost his own personality. He has struggled against more than one disadvantage, and still remains, and successfully remains, himself. In his desire to work after the larger manner of Michelangelo and Raphael, he has made his compositions academic and has overloaded his figures with draperies; to feel this straining for effect one has only to note the H-shaped compositions which represent the Announcement to Zacharias, the Offering St. John's Head to Herod, or the formal distribution of the decapitation of St. John, and to observe the female figure in the centre of the scene of the Birth of St. John. Here the pulling of the drapery through and over the girdle, an arrangement which is so charming with Botticelli and other fifteenth-century painters, has been exaggerated by Andrea until the woman looks as though she had been simply made a peg to hang clothes upon. Herod as he sits at table is weighed down with his clothing, the figure at the side is as bad, while the woman at the left of the Annunciation to Zacharias is worst of all. On the other hand, while Andrea has gone even further than Fra Bartolommeo in overloading his figures with drapery, he has not, like the

drea depicted the Baptism of Our Lord by San Giovanni in the first compartment, executing the same with so much care and in so good a manner, that he acquired credit, honour, and fame thereby to a remarkable degree; and great numbers of persons were thereby induced to require works from his hands, as esteeming him one who, with

latter, abused the use of the lay figure. Andrea has indeed been so in love with his great folds of cloth, that not satisfied with swathing his figures, he has given them bundles and packets to hold upon their heads and under their arms; but although he has done all this, the drapery *per se* is studied and fine and these same figures, in spite of being half-smothered, are impressive. There is so large a feeling, so much real power in them, that they rise superior to all that hampers them, and although they (take for instance the executioner of St. John or the Herodias as she sits with Herod) have less of distinction or nobility than have Raphael's frescoed people, they have more of freedom and sweep in technical treatment than is found in most of the figures in the Vatican *Stanze*. This is because while Raphael's hard outlines are largely due to pupils, Andrea painted his frescoes for himself. In making this comparison one must, however, leave out the admirably handled Mass of Bolsena and the Jurisprudence of Raphael, but even with such reservations the comparison does honor to Del Sarto. While Andrea shows himself able to follow the greatest example without degenerating into imitation, he does not hesitate to imitate frankly when he wishes to do so, and in other frescoes of the series, the St. John Baptizing, etc. (see Thausing's Life of Dürer), he takes whole figures from that artist's engravings.

Too much space has been given to the few defects of this admirable performance, it is far more difficult to define its many great qualities. In color the *grisaglio*, though primarily tranquil and harmonious, does not lack variety or accent; Andrea, while giving a certain amount of relief to his figures, makes no effort (as has been the case with certain other painters when using monochromatic color) to imitate sculpture or to produce the vulgar illusion of the *trompe l'œil*. These frescoes, while less episodical and more severe in style than those of the cloister of the Annunziata, still retain Andrea's simplicity, his naturalness, his freedom alike from declamation and from academic coldness, although not from academic composition. If in many ways they show the influence of the Roman school, and even of Dürer, the study of Pagan sculpture is instantly felt in them. One of the most beautiful figures inspired by antiquity in the whole range of modern art is the figure of Salome. It is as noble in line as Mantegna's Judith, and possesses a human quality and an ample stateliness that are Andrea's own. In many of the scenes the force of style and of personality is admirable; if the frescoes have not the grandeur of Michelangelo, they also have not his exaggeration, if they do not possess Raphael's serene beauty, they are also free from the insipidity which has crept into some of his inferior works. And it may be repeated that after the paintings of the Sistine chapel and those of the *Stanze* there is no nobler series of sixteenth century frescoes in Italy.

time, must needs arrive at the honourable eminence promised by his extraordinary commencement.

Among other works performed by Andrea at this time, and in his first manner, may be mentioned a picture which is now in the possession of Filippo Spini, by whom it is held in high veneration, in memory of so excellent an artist.[8] Nor did any long time elapse after the completion of the above-mentioned works, before our artist received a commission from those Monks of the Order of Sant' Agostino, who call themselves the Eremitani Osservanti, to paint a picture for one of the chapels in their church, which is situate beyond the gate of San Gallo ; the subject being the Appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene, in the form of the gardener. The colouring of this work is so good, there is so much softness, harmony, and delicacy, throughout the whole, that it caused Andrea to receive a commission for the execution of two others in the same church, as will be related hereafter ; this picture of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene is now in the chapel of San Jacopo-tra-fossi, near the Alberti, as are the two mentioned immediately after it.[9]

After having completed those labours, Andrea and Franciabigio left the Piazza del Grano, and took new rooms in the Sapienza, near the convent of the Nunziata, from which circumstance it happened, that Andrea formed a friendship with Jacopo Sansovino, who was then a youth, and was studying sculpture in that place under Andrea Contucci, his master : nay, so close an intimacy and so great an affection was subsequently contracted by Jacopo and Andrea, for each other, that they were never separate night or day. The conversations of these young artists were, for the most part, respecting the difficulties of their

[8] Nothing is now known of this picture.

[9] These pictures are said by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle to exist in a private church belonging to the Covoni in the Casentino. Milanesi, V., p. 10, note 1, says that the two other pictures are in the Pitti. There is in the Uffizi a Christ appearing to the Magdalen catalogued as by Andrea del Sarto.

art; wherefore, we have no reason to be surprised that both of them should ultimately attain to great excellence, as we are now to show that Andrea did, and as will be related in due time of Jacopo Sansovino, also.

In this same convent of the Servites, there was at that period a monk, acting as Sacristan, who had also the superintendence of the wax-lights sold there, and was called Fra Mariano del Canto alla Macine. This monk heard every one praising Andrea, and affirming that he was making most wonderful progress in the art of painting; he, therefore, set about contriving to gratify a wish of his own, at small cost. Attacking Andrea, who was a kind man of mild manners, on the side of his honour, he accordingly proceeded to affect a great interest in him, and declared himself anxious to assist him, from motives of kindness, in a matter which could not but redound to the glory of the painter and would bring him great profit also, besides making him known in such a manner, that he would never more be poor or wanting in any thing.

Now, it had happened many years previously, that Alesso Baldovinetti had painted a Nativity of Christ,[10] as I have before related, in the first cloister of the Servites, and on that side which joins the church of the Nunziata; while Cosimo Rosselli had commenced a story on the opposite side of the same cloister;[11] the subject being San Filippo, who was the founder of that Order of the Servites, receiving the Monastic Habit: but this work had not been completed by Cosimo, who died while still engaged with its execution. The sacristan, therefore, greatly desiring to have it finished, thought so to manage matters, that he might turn the emulation of Andrea and Franciabigio, who, from having been friends, had now become rivals in art, to his own account: his plan was to make each take a part of the work, when, as both would be incited by their rivalry in art to do their utmost, the sacristan expected to

[10] Finished in 1462.

[11] Probably painted in 1476.

be the more effectually served, and at much diminished cost, while to them the labour would be increased in an equal proportion.

Having opened his mind to Andrea, he laboured hard to persuade him to undertake the office proposed, by pointing out to him that as the place was a public and much frequented one, he would thus make himself known, not only to the Florentines but to strangers, adding, that he ought, on that account, not to think of expecting any payment for his work, nay, rather, if he had not been invited to perform it, should have even begged permission to do so. Fra Mariano, furthermore, remarked, that if Andrea would not undertake the matter, there was Franciabigio, who had offered to accomplish the whole, for the purpose of making himself known, and was willing to leave the question of payment to him, the sacristan.

These considerations were well calculated to secure Andrea's compliance, although he had but little mind on the whole to undertake such a charge ; but the reference to Franciabigio effectually determined him, and he resolved to accept it, making an agreement in writing, to the effect that he was to have the whole, that none other might be permitted to intervene. The Monk having thus pledged him, gave him money to make the necessary preparations, requiring that he should first continue the representation of events from the life of San Filippo ; but all that Andrea obtained from the sacristan was the sum of ten ducats for each picture, Fra Mariano declaring that he gave so much out of his own purse, and did all that he was doing, more for the advantage of Andrea himself than for the benefit or need of the Convent. The artist laboured, therefore, as one who thought more of his honour than of reward, and working with the utmost diligence in no long time he had completed three of the stories.[12]

[12] Andrea's frescoes in the portico of the Annunziata are of the highest interest to the student of this artist, since in spite of the short period, 1509–1510, which they cover, they are a good example of the development of his style.

These three were given to public view accordingly, and in one of them Andrea was found to have depicted the circumstance of San Filippo clothing the naked, after he had taken the monastic habit. Another represented the same Saint when he was reproving certain gamesters; these men, blaspheming God and scorning the admonition of San Filippo, are making a mockery of his words, when suddenly there falls a lightning-flash from Heaven, which striking the tree under which they were seated, kills two of their number.[13] All the rest are instantly seized with indescribable terror, some raising their hands to their heads, cast themselves in desperation to the earth, others seek safety in

The earlier frescoes show us fifteenth-century Florentine art grown more sure and skilful in the hands of a painter of the first years of the sixteenth century; a painter who has profited by the dramatic ordering of Filippino's frescoes, but who is a far greater draughtsman than Filippino, who has learned some of the secrets of Leonardo's *sfumatura* without falling into any of Leonardo's blackness in the shadows. There is in the drawing of the figures in these scenes from the life of San Filippo a delicate sureness which far exceeds anything of the kind in Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, or Filippino; and if the figures have not the fervor of Filippino, the distinction of Botticelli, the rude force of some of Ghirlandajo's people, the monumental composition of Fra Bartolommeo, they *have* distinction, force, and monumental composition at once, and it is in this union of qualities that they show the wonderful advance which was possible to a Florentine master of the first order, who had seen the work of Leonardo and Michelangelo, who, in fact, had the whole Tuscan *quattrocento* at his back. In color these frescoes are scientifically as great an advance upon fifteenth-century work as they are in their drawing; there is in them a clearness, a coolness, and transparency not found in the work of the *quattrocentisti;* on the other hand, this color, with its pinky yellows and salmons and rose, is almost *pretty*, and while distinguished by its competency it has not the real distinction of color existing in certain earlier frescoes that are inferior technically. In composition one or two of these same earlier frescoes also attain nobility, a quality which Andrea very rarely achieved, a certain stateliness taking its place in all but his best works. He has chosen a scale for his figures which is not fortunate, and which would give a certain sense of insignificance were they not so fine intrinsically. He seems to have realized this, and changed the scale in the later frescoes; unfortunately he also changed his draperies; these, which are admirable in the first three or four of the series, are gradually exaggerated until some of his personages, in spite of their charm of face and pose, become mere packages swathed in yards upon yards of ballooning cloth which hides construction and prevents movement.

[13] Of this fresco M. Müntz says well that it is a sort of *prodrome* of that masterpiece of its kind, Titian's St. Peter Martyr.

flight, with looks full of horror. Among these is a woman wild with the terror caused by the sound of the thunder, and rushing along with so natural and life-like a movement, that she seems to be indeed alive. A horse, having torn himself loose in his flight, betrays the terror he feels at the outcries around him, by rearing aloft, and in all his movements gives evidence of the effect produced by the unexpected disturbance. The whole work, in short, proves the forethought with which Andrea considered all that the various circumstances of such an event as he was depicting required, and gives testimony of a care and diligence which is certainly most commendable, as well as needful to him who would exercise the art of painting. In the third of these pictures San Filippo delivers a woman from evil spirits, and this also is delineated with all those considerations which can be imagined as proper to the due representation of such an event; wherefore all these pictures obtained for Andrea very great honour and fame.

Encouraged by the praise he received, the artist continued his work, and in the same cloister he painted two other pictures. In one, San Filippo is seen lying dead, with the brethren of his order weeping around him; there is also a child, who having been dead, has been restored to life by touching the bier whereon the body of the saint is laid. The boy is first seen dead, and then resuscitated and restored to life, being painted in each case with much thought, and represented in a manner that could not be more truthful and natural than it is. In the last picture on that side, our artist depicted certain monks who are laying the vestments of San Filippo on the heads of some children, and in this work Andrea has given the portrait of the sculptor Andrea della Robbia, represented as an old man clothed in red and much bent; he bears a staff in his hand. In the same picture is also the portrait of Luca,[14] son of the above-

[14] The figures in this fresco are peculiarly delicate, sure, and clean in handling and drawing. They stand just between the painstaking yet charming fifteenth-century work and the freer treatment which was to immediately follow.

named Andrea della Robbia, and in the painting of the death of San Filippo, which we have just described, there is that of Girolamo, who was also a son of the sculptor Andrea, and was an intimate friend of the painter. This Girolamo died no long time since in France.

The one side of the cloister was now completed, and as Andrea thought the reward too little, and considered the honour to be rated at too high a price, he determined to abandon the remainder of the undertaking; the monk complained bitterly at this, and would not set the artist free from the agreement he had made but on condition that the latter should paint two other stories, to be executed at his own leisure and convenience, with an increase of price, and so they remained of accord.

The paintings above described had caused Andrea to become better known; he consequently received commissions for numerous pictures and works of importance. Among others he obtained one from the General of the Monks of Vallombrosa, who desired to have a Last Supper painted on an arch of the ceiling and on the wall of the refectory in his convent of San Salvi, which is situate at some little distance from the gate of Santa Croce.[15] In the vaulting of this refectory therefore, Andrea painted four figures, San Benedetto namely, with San Giovanni Gualberto, San Salvi the bishop, and San Bernardo degli Uberti of Florence, who was a brother of their order and a cardinal: in the centre of the same he depicted a circle having three aspects which yet represent one only, to signify the Trinity.[16] All these pictures were executed admirably well for a work in fresco, and Andrea obtained from them the reputation of being, as in truth he was, a most excellent master in painting.

From the sculptor Baccio d'Agnolo, our artist received a commission to paint a small picture of the Annunciation[17]

[15] See note 85.

[16] This manner of representing the Trinity was prohibited by Pope Urban VIII.

[17] This picture is now nearly obliterated.

in an angle of the steep descent which leads from Or San Michele to the Mercato Nuovo; this work is still to be seen, it is in fresco, but has not been much approved: now the latter circumstance may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that Andrea, who worked so well when he left himself to his natural powers, and did not place fetters on the endowments so richly imparted to him, had on this occasion, as it is said, imposed too heavy a restraint on his genius, thus doing injury to his work by an excess of care and study.

Of the many pictures which this artist painted for the city of Florence, it would lead me too far were I to discourse at length, I will therefore confine myself to remarks on those most distinguished. Among the best of these may be enumerated that which is now in an apartment of the house of Baccio Barbadori; the subject whereof is a full-length figure of Our Lady, with the divine Child in her arms, she is accompanied by Sant' Anna and San Giuseppe; they are all painted in an admirable manner, and the work is held by Barbadori in the highest estimation;[18] there is also one of great merit and in a similar manner, which is now in the possession of Lorenzo di Domenico Borghini. For Leonardo del Giocondo likewise, Andrea painted a picture of the Virgin which is at the present time in the hands of his son Piero di Leonardo del Giocondo.

Two pictures, neither of them of any great size, were painted by Andrea del Sarto for Carlo Ginori, and these were afterwards purchased by the Illustrious Ottaviano de' Medici, who has one of them now at his beautiful villa of Campi, the other is in the apartment of the Signor Bernardetto, the worthy son of so noble a father, with many other modern paintings by the most eminent masters, all of which are highly prized by the Signor Bernardetto, who frequently gives proof of the honour and esteem in which he holds the labours of all meritorious artists, as he shows himself in-

[18] Milanesi states that in 1700 this picture was in the possession of the Cavalier Pietro Pesaro of Venice.

deed in all his actions to be a truly generous and magnificent Signor.[19]

Now it chanced that the sacristan of the Servites had given Franciabigio a commission to paint one of the stories still wanting in the cloister, whereof there has already been made mention more than once; but the latter had not yet finished the preparation of the ground for his work, when Andrea, dispirited by the apprehension of being surpassed by Franciabigio, who appeared to him to handle the colours in fresco more rapidly and with more ability than himself —Andrea, I say, prepared Cartoons for two stories, almost as in contention with the former, proposing to execute them immediately, in the angle situate between the side door of San Bastiano, and the smaller door which leads from the cloister into the Church of the Nunziata. The Cartoons were no sooner completed, therefore, than Andrea set himself to execute the work in fresco; in the first of his stories he represented the Birth of Our Lady,[20] the composition exhibiting well proportioned figures, very gracefully disposed about a chamber, whither certain women, relations, and friends of Sant' Anna have repaired to visit the latter, who is in her bed. These her visitors are grouped around the mother of the newly born Babe, and are clothed in such vestments as were customary at that time: others, who are of an inferior condition, stand about the fire; some are washing the Infant, while some of them are preparing the swathing bands, and others perform other services of similar kind. A child, who is warming itself at the fire, is

[19] Of these pictures we only know that the one placed in the Chamber of Bernardetto represented Job.

[20] In the Birth of Mary, Andrea rises to his full height, and the fresco takes its place with the *Cenacolo*, the Madonna of the Harpies, the Madonna del Sacco, and the best of the Scalzo series. Everything in the work is large, ample, simple; composition, feeling, line, mass, and color alike. It shows little of the lofty spirit of Michelangelo or Raphael, but there is much of their large, plastic feeling. The women are not so much beautiful as lazily majestic, with a majesty which is, however, so reposeful that it is almost bovine. Lucrezia del Fede, Andrea's wife, when a very old woman, told Jacopo da Empoli that she had posed for the standing figure in a red gown in the foreground

depicted very naturally, and with much animation ; an old man also who is reposing on a couch, is a figure of great merit, and the same may be said respecting each of the women who are taking food to the patient lying in her bed, the movements and actions of all being truly appropriate and most natural. There are, moreover, certain angels represented by children hovering in the air and scattering flowers, and these likewise give evidence of much thought and consideration, as well in their habiliments as in other respects, they are painted with so much softness that the flesh appears to be really living, and in all other respects they seem rather natural than merely feigned.

In the second picture, Andrea represented the three Magi from the East, who are led by the guiding star, and proceed to pay their adoration to the child Jesus.[21] The master has represented them as having approached near to the place where he is to be found, and exhibits them as having descended from their horses, an arrangement to which he was led by the fact that he had but so much space as included the width of two doors between his work and the Birth of Christ, which had been previously painted in that cloister by Alesso Baldovinetti. The kings are followed by their court, with carriages and baggage of various sorts, attended by numerous followers, three of whom are portraits taken from the life : the figures here alluded to wear the Florentine dress, they are depicted in one of the angles : the first is a

of this fresco, which, begun in 1511, was finished in 1514, one year after Andrea's marriage. There is a study for this fresco in the Uffizi.

[21] This work, which is full of a certain youthful spontaneity, vivacity, and even gayety, still shows the influence of the older Florentine school in its episodical treatment. Though painted in 1511, two years before Andrea's marriage with Lucrezia del Fede, it contains one of the most charming of the many portraits of his wife, who is here represented in the costume of the young Magian king. There is delightful color in this fresco ; it is perhaps almost too pretty, but in the warm tones of the amber flesh tints and in the general atmosphere there is a suggestion of the golden touch of the Venetians. In this work (painted in 1511) we find Andrea's monogram, composed of two interlaced A's, for Andrea d' Agnolo, used for the first time. See the article by the late Paul Mantz, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Second series, XIV., p. 471 and following.

full-length figure looking at the spectator, this is Jacopo Sansovino ; the second, who is leaning on him and pointing forwards with one arm foreshortened, is Andrea himself, the master of the whole work ; and the head, seen in profile behind Jacopo Sansovino, is that of the musician Ajolle.

In this picture there are boys climbing on the walls, the better to obtain a view of the magnificent show, and of the strange animals which form part of the train, they are admirably painted, and in a word the whole story is equal in merit to that previously described ; the master surpassed himself, indeed, to say nothing of Franciabigio, in them both ; the latter also completing his work, to which we have alluded above.

About the same time Andrea del Sarto painted a picture for the abbey of San Godenzo, a benefice also belonging to the Servite monks ; this work was considered to be very well done.[22] For the monks of San Gallo he painted a picture of Our Lady receiving the Annunciation from the Angel ; in this there is a pleasing harmony to be remarked in the colouring, certain heads of the angels by whom Gabriel is accompanied are painted with the most delicate softness, and the beauty of the expression is perfect. Beneath this picture was a predella executed by Jacopo da Pontormo,[23] then a disciple of Andrea, who gave an indication at that early age of the admirable works which he afterwards produced in Florence, before he became what we may very properly call another and entirely different person, as will be related in his life.

At a somewhat later period Andrea painted a picture for Zanobi Girolami ; the subject of this work, the figures in which are not very large, is the story of Joseph the son of Jacob ; it was completed by the master with most unremit-

[22] This picture is now in the Pitti Gallery, it is an Annunciation ; Cardinal Carlo de' Medici, who took this picture from the convent, replaced it by a copy.

[23] It is now in the Pitti Gallery, and a study in red chalk for the angel is in the Uffizi. The *predella* is lost.

ting care and diligence, for which cause it has been usual to consider this a very beautiful painting.[24] No long time after having finished this work, he undertook one for the men of the Brotherhood called that of Santa Maria della Neve, who have their house behind that of the nuns of Sant' Ambrogio ; the picture is small, and the figures are three : Our Lady namely, with San Giovanni Battista, and Sant' Ambrogio : when it was finished, the work was in due course of time fixed in its place on the altar of the above-named Brotherhood.[25]

The abilities of Andrea had caused him about this period of his life, to become known to Giovanni Gaddi, who was afterwards clerk of the chamber, and who, from his love to the arts of design, then kept Jacopo Sansovino in continual employment. The manner of Andrea del Sarto pleasing Giovanni, he commissioned the artist to paint a picture of the Virgin for him, and this proved to be a singularly beautiful painting, nay, it was considered to be the best that Andrea had then produced, partly because the latter had executed many beautiful and ingenious decorations, by way of frame work, around the picture.[26]

For the merchant Giovanni di Paolo, this master painted another picture of the Madonna, which pleases all who behold it exceedingly, and is indeed a truly beautiful production : for Andrea Santini,[27] he likewise painted a picture representing Our Lady, Jesus Christ, St. John, and St. Joseph, all executed with so much care, that in Florence they have ever been esteemed as works of the highest merit.[28]

These various labours secured so great a name for An-

[24] There are in the Cowper collection at Panshanger three little pictures from the story of Joseph. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe them to be by Pontormo.

[25] Nothing is known of the work.

[26] This picture was in the possession of the Gaddi-Poggi family of Florence some years previous to 1850. See Milanesi, V., p. 18, note 2.

[27] Milanesi, V., p. 18, has corrected Santini to Sertini.

[28] According to Milanesi, Della Valle said that a certain Alessandro Curti-Lepri bought in Rome a picture answering to this description and had it engraved by Raphael Morghen.

drea in his native city, that among the many artists, old and young, who were then painting, he was accounted one of the best that handled pencil and colours. Our artist then found himself to be not only honoured and admired, but also in a condition, notwithstanding the really mean price that he accepted for his labours, which permitted him to render assistance to his family, while he still remained unoppressed for his own part, by those cares and anxieties which beset those who are compelled to live in poverty. But having fallen in love with a young woman whom on her becoming a widow he took for his wife, he found that he had enough to do for the remainder of his days, and was subsequently obliged to work much more laboriously than he had previously done; for in addition to the duties and liabilities which engagements of that kind are wont to bring with them, Andrea del Sarto found that he had brought on himself many others; he was now tormented by jealousy, now by one thing, now by another; but ever by some evil consequence of his new connection.[29]

[29] In the first edition of Vasari, the history of Andrea's marriage is given at greater length. Our author there says: "At that time there was a most beautiful girl in the Via di San Gallo, who was married to a cap-maker, and who, though born of a poor and vicious father, carried about her as much pride and haughtiness as beauty and fascination. She delighted in trapping the hearts of men, and among others ensnared the unlucky Andrea, whose immoderate love for her soon caused him to neglect the studies demanded by his art, and in great measure to discontinue the assistance which he had given to his parents.

"Now it chanced that a sudden and grievous illness seized the husband of this woman, who rose no more from his bed, but died thereof. Without taking counsel of his friends therefore; without regard to the dignity of his art or the consideration due to his genius, and to the eminence he had attained with so much labour; without a word, in short, to any of his kindred, Andrea took this Lucrezia di Baccio del Fede, such was the name of the woman, to be his wife; her beauty appearing to him to merit thus much at his hands, and his love for her having more influence over him than the glory and honour towards which he had begun to make such hopeful advances. But when this news became known in Florence, the respect and affection which his friends had previously borne to Andrea changed to contempt and disgust, since it appeared to them that the darkness of this disgrace had obscured for a time all the glory and renown obtained by his talents.

"But he destroyed his own peace as well as estranged his friends by this

But to return to the works of this master: if these were very numerous, they were also very beautiful; in addition to those mentioned above, he painted a picture of Our Lady for the church of the nuns of San Francesco, whose Convent is in the Via Pentolini; he received the commission for this work from a monk of Santa Croce of the order of the Minorites, who was at that time Intendant for those nuns, and was a great lover of painting: the Madonna is standing upright on a pedestal of eight sides, and on each of the angles of this pedestal are figures of Harpies, seated in an attitude which is almost, as it were, one of adoration of the Virgin.[30] Our Lady is holding the Divine Child, with one arm; and the Infant, in a most exquisite attitude, has his arms round her neck, about which he is twining them most tenderly; with the other hand the Madonna holds a closed book, she is looking down on two nude figures of children, and these, while they support her in her position, serve at the same time as an ornament to the picture. On the right

act, seeing that he soon became jealous, and found that he had besides fallen into the hands of an artful woman, who made him do as she pleased in all things. He abandoned his own poor father and mother, for example, and adopted the father and sisters of his wife in their stead; insomuch that all who knew the facts, mourned over him, and he soon began to be as much avoided as he had previously been sought after. His disciples still remained with him, it is true, in the hope of learning something useful, yet there was not one of them, great or small, who was not maltreated by his wife, both by evil words and despiteful actions: none could escape her blows, but although Andrea lived in the midst of all that torment, he yet accounted it a high pleasure." This description has all the more significance when we remember that Vasari was himself one of Andrea's disciples. The name of the gentle lady thus attractively depicted by our author, was Lucrezia Recanati, according to Biadi; that of her husband, the "capmaker," being Carlo Recanati. —*Mrs. Foster's Notes.*

The marriage of Andrea took place in 1513.

[30] The picture (1517) is commonly called the Madonna of the Harpies "*delle Arpie*," from these stone figures upon the pedestal. It is now in the Uffizi. In this work Andrea becomes somewhat academic as to arrangement both of his figures and his draperies, and shows an effort to vie with Fra Bartolommeo, in a certain grand formality, but the types themselves, the grave beauty of the Madonna, who facially is far nobler than are most of Andrea's women. and the Leonardesque beauty of the Christ child, more than counterbalance any academic straining and make the picture a masterpiece, in which the in-

of the Virgin is San Francesco, extremely well painted, the countenance betokening all that simplicity and excellence by which that holy man is known to have been distinguished. The feet of the figures are also exceedingly beautiful, as are the draperies; and as regards the latter, it was one of Andrea's excellencies that their flow was ever rich and ample, while he contrived, by a certain graceful and flexible turn of the forms, to cause the outlines of the nude figure to be discernable through or beneath them. On the left of Our Lady is San Giovanni Evangelista, depicted in a very fine manner as a youth, and in the act of writing the Gospel. Above these figures and the building wherein they are depicted, light transparent clouds are seen, and are so lightly and naturally represented that they appear to be really moving: this work is now considered among the best of Andrea's productions, and is indeed one of singular and truly wonderful beauty. He painted another picture of Our Lady, for the Joiner Nizza, nor was this in any degree less remarkable for its excellence than are the other works of this master.[31]

The Guild of the Merchants then determined to cause triumphal chariots of wood to be made, in the manner of the ancient Romans, to the end that these vehicles might be drawn in procession on the morning of the festival of San Giovanni, instead of the canopies of cloth, with wax lights, which are borne by the different cities and fortresses in token of subjection and tribute, when they pass on that festival before the duke and the principal magistrates. Ten of these chariots were then prepared, and Andrea painted some of them in chiaroscuro, others he decorated with stories depicted in oil, and these works were very highly commended. It had been proposed that some of the chariots here described should be made every year, until every city and town should possess its own (when they would cer-

fluence of Leonardo, Correggio, and Bartolommeo are all felt, yet which is for all that intensely personal and characteristic of Andrea.

[31] This work is lost.

tainly have made a magnificent addition to the pomp of that show) : but since the year 1527, the preparation thereof has nevertheless been abandoned.[32]

While Andrea was thus adorning his native city with these and other works, and at the same time adding daily to his own glory, the men of the confraternity called that of the Barefooted Brethren resolved that he should complete the work which he had formerly commenced in their cloister, where he had then depicted the Baptism of Christ.[33] The master therefore, having recommenced his work with much good will, painted two other stories in that place, adding two very beautiful figures of Justice and Charity as ornaments to a door which opened into the house of the confraternity. In one of the stories now in question, the artist represented San Giovanni preaching to the people ; the attitude of the Saint is full of power, his person is attenuated as was proper to the life which he led ; the air of the head and the expression of the countenance give evidence of inspiration and of the contemplative habits of his life. The variety and animation to be observed in the looks of his hearers are equally remarkable and admirable, some are standing as in amazement, and all are full of emotion as they receive those new tidings and listen to a doctrine so remarkable, but which had never before been propounded to them.

But still more wonderfully was the genius of this master rendered manifest in the picture wherein he represented San Giovanni baptizing a vast concourse of people in the river ; some of these figures are divesting themselves of their clothing, others are in the act of receiving the sacred rite ; some wait unclothed until the saint shall have finished baptizing those who have gone before them, but in the attitudes of all, the utmost eagerness is apparent, and each one

[32] These chariots are lost.

[33] See note 12. Milanesi says that in Munich there are four *schizzi* painted in monochrome (oil on paper), of the Preaching of St. John, The Visitation, Zacharias and the Angel, and Salome with the head of St. John. See vol. V., p. 22, note 1, †.

gives evidence of the earnest desire he feels, as he hastens forward, to be washed from his sins. The whole of these figures, moreover, are so admirably depicted in the before-mentioned chiaroscuro, that they have all the appearance of the most animated and life-like statues in marble.

But I will not omit to mention, that while Andrea was occupied with these and other pictures, there came out numerous engravings, executed on copper, by Albert Dürer, and that Andrea availed himself of these works, copying certain figures from them, and adapting them to his own purposes, a circumstance which has caused some to believe, not that it is wrong to avail one's self dexterously of the meritorious performances of others, but that Andrea was not endowed with any great power of invention.[34]

Now it happened at this time, that Baccio Bandinelli, who was then a very highly renowned artist in design, formed the wish to learn the art of painting in oil; wherefore, knowing that there was no one in Florence who understood the method of proceeding in that branch of art more perfectly than did Andrea del Sarto, he caused the latter to paint his portrait, which must have resembled him greatly at that age, as we may perceive even yet. By observing Andrea execute this and other works, therefore, Baccio obtained a knowledge of his mode of colouring, but he did not put the knowledge thus acquired into practice, either because of the difficulty which he found in doing so, or perhaps, because he was not sufficiently attracted by the art of painting; be this as it may, he betook himself again to sculpture, as being the art which he found to suit him the best.[35]

For Alessandro Corsini, Andrea painted a picture of Chil-

[34] Thausing in his life of Albrecht Dürer corroborates Vasari's statement, that Andrea copied several figures from Dürer's engravings.

[35] Vasari tells a different story in the life of Baccio Bandinelli. "Repairing to Andrea del Sarto, who was his intimate friend, he begged the latter to take his portrait in oil, hoping by this means to arrive at his end by two separate ways; the one being that he should acquire the manner in which the colours were mingled, and the other, that having the picture left in his hands,

dren surrounding a figure of Our Lady, who is seated on the earth, with the divine Child in her arms. The whole is executed with much ability, and the colouring in particular is very pleasing.[36] For a merchant who carried on his traffic in Rome, and who was Andrea's particular friend, the latter also painted a head of the most exquisite beauty;[37] and in like manner, for the Florentine, Giovanni Battista Puccini, whom the manner of Andrea pleased exceedingly, our artist painted a picture of the Virgin.[38] This work Puccini had caused to be executed for the purpose of sending it into France; but finding it to be a most exquisite production, he could not resolve on parting with it, and kept it for himself. He was, nevertheless, so frequently commissioned to send fine paintings, by good masters, into France, where he had much traffic, that he soon gave Andrea another picture to paint, and the subject of this work

and having watched its progress throughout, he should retain it as an example which he should perfectly understand, and could have always before him.

"But Andrea at once perceived the object of Baccio's request, and, displeased by the want of confidence and the craft which Baccio displayed, seeing that he would have been most willing to have shown him whatever he wished, had Baccio asked him, as a friend, to do so,—Andrea, I say, being thus dissatisfied with Baccio's trickery, gave no evidence of having discovered his purpose, but ceasing the preparation of mixtures and tints which he had commenced, he placed every kind of colour upon his pallette, and mingling them to a certain extent one with another, he took now from one and now from another with his pencil, which he did with infinite rapidity and dexterity of hand, producing an exact imitation of Baccio's complexion. Meanwhile, the art used by Andrea, with the necessity of retaining his place and sitting still, which was imposed on Baccio, if he desired to have his picture taken, prevented the latter from seeing anything that was done, nor could he learn any part of all that he desired to know; Andrea therefore succeeded happily in punishing the want of confidence betrayed by his friend, while he at the same time displayed, by that method of treating his work, the great practice and ability which he, as an able master, possessed."

[36] According to Bottari, cited by Milanesi, V., p. 23, note 2, the picture at present in the Corsini Palace is a copy, the original having gone in 1613 to the Signori Crescenzi of Rome. Förster believes that the original picture is in Munich.

[37] This work cannot be identified.

[38] It is not possible to identify this picture.

was the Dead Christ surrounded by Angels, who support the body, and in very sorrowful attitudes are contemplating their Maker, reduced to that condition by the sins of the world.[39]

When this work was completed, it received universal commendation; and Andrea, moved by the entreaties of many persons, who were admirers of the picture, consented to have it engraved in Rome by the Venetian Agostino; but the engraving was not a successful one, for which cause Andrea would never afterwards permit any of his works to be engraved. Returning to the picture itself, however, this gave no less satisfaction in France, whither it was sent, than it had done in Florence; and the King, conceiving the most earnest desire to possess other works by the same hand, gave orders to the intent, that the master should execute certain paintings for him; a circumstance which induced Andrea to form the design of proceeding at no distant time into France, and in this he was much encouraged by the persuasions of his friends.

But in the meantime, the Florentines, understanding that Pope Leo X. was minded to do his native city the grace and favour of showing himself therein, which he did in the year 1515;[40] the Florentines, I say, commanded that most magnificent preparations should be made for the festivals which were to be arranged for the reception of His Holiness. A very sumptuous array of ornaments, triumphal arches, temples, colossal statues, and other decorations, was accordingly made ready, and the fronts of buildings were richly decorated, insomuch, that the like had never before been seen, whether as regarded splendour, magnificence, or beauty; for at that time there was a greater number of distinguished men in Florence, and more men of genius were then flourishing there than had been known at any previous

[39] It is in the Imperial Art Museum at Vienna. A half-length figure of the Virgin also appears in the picture.

[40] Leo was on his way to Bologna to meet Francis I., who had just gained the battle of Marignano.

period. Jacopo di Sandro and Baccio di Montelupo constructed an arch, entirely covered with historical representations, before the gate of San Pietro Gattolini; another was erected at San Felice-in-Piazza, by Giuliano del Tasso, who also prepared certain statues for Santa Trinità, with a half-length figure of Romulus, and the column of Trajan for the Nuova Mercato;* while Antonio, the brother of Giuliano da San Gallo, erected an Octangular Temple on the Piazza de' Signori, and Baccio Bandinelli made a colossal figure for the Loggia. Between the Abbey and the Palace of the Podestà, an arch of triumph was constructed by Granaccio and Aristotele da San Gallo; and at the corner of the Bischeri, another was erected by Il Rosso, whose work was much admired for the beauty of its order and the variety of the figures wherewith it was decorated.

But that which was esteemed the most beautiful of all, was the façade erected before the Cathedral Church of Santa Maria del Fiore; this was of wood, so beautifully decorated in chiaroscuro, by Andrea del Sarto, that nothing more admirable could possibly be desired; and as the architecture of this work was by Jacopo Sansovino, as were likewise certain historical representations in basso-rilievo, with numerous figures of sculpture in full relief, it was declared by the Pope to be so fine, that the edifice could not have been more beautiful, had it been in marble. The decoration here described had been invented while he yet lived, by Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of Pope Leo X.[41] The same Jacopo also prepared the figure of a Horse, on the Piazza Novella.† It was in imitation of that in Rome, and was considered exceedingly beautiful. An immense variety of ornaments were likewise added to the Hall of the Pope, in the Via della Scala, and the full half of that street was also decorated with very beautiful stories, executed by

* Read the Mercato Nuovo, the New Market.

† Read Piazza Santa Maria Novella.

[41] Lorenzo the Magnificent, Pope Leo's father, who had died in 1492, had suggested a competition for a design for the *façade* of the Duomo of Florence, but the plan had fallen through.

the hands of many artists, but the greater part of them designed by Baccio Bandinelli. On the 3rd of September, then, in that year, it was that Pope Leo made his entry into Florence, and the preparations thus made for that occasion were adjudged to be the most magnificent, as well as the most beautiful, that ever had been made at any time for the reception of a prince.

But let us now return to Andrea: being again required to prepare another picture for the King of France, he finished one in a short time, wherein he represented a Madonna of extraordinary beauty;[42] this was sent immediately into France, where the merchants received four times as much for the work as they had paid for it to the painter.[43] Now it chanced that Pier Francesco Borgherini had at that time caused rich carvings in wood to be executed by Baccio d'Agnolo for the decoration of coffers, backs of chairs, seats of different forms, with a bedstead in walnut-wood, all of great beauty, and intended for the furnishing forth of an apartment. He therefore desired that the paintings thereof should be equal to and correspond with the rest of the ornaments. To that end, therefore, he commissioned Andrea del Sarto to paint the history of Joseph the son of Jacob, in figures of no great size, and these our artist was to execute in competition with Granaccio and Jacopo da Pontormo, who had produced certain paintings there which are very beautiful; he set to work accordingly, with even more than his usual assiduity, making extraordinary efforts and expending a very large amount of time, to the end that his performance might surpass those of the before-mentioned masters; nor did the endeavours thus made fail to produce the result desired, seeing that the variety of circumstances which the facts of the story required him to represent, gave

[42] This picture is said to be one of the Holy Families now in the Louvre. MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger in *Le Louvre*, catalogue as by Andrea in that gallery: two Holy Families, numbers 1515, 1516; an Annunciation (1517), and a Charity (1514).

[43] "It is interesting to note that the picture-dealer grievance was rife even in those days."—E. T. Cook, Handbook to the National Gallery.

Andrea an opportunity of showing how much he could effect in the art of painting. At the siege of Florence, the beauty of these pictures caused Giovanni Battista della Palla to attempt their removal from the places wherein they were fixed, for the purpose of sending them to the King of France, but they were found to be so firmly fastened, that they could not be stirred without the destruction of the whole work, they were consequently suffered to remain, as was also a figure of Our Lady, which is held to be one of extraordinary beauty.[44]

Shortly after having completed this undertaking, Andrea

[44] These paintings, now in the Pitti Gallery, were intended to decorate furniture; they were ordered in 1523 by Pier Borgherini for the marriage of his son, Francesco Borgherini, with Margherita Acciajuoli, and were placed in the Borgherini palace in the Borgo SS. Apostoli. Vasari gives another reason for the failure of della Palla to remove the paintings in his life of Pontormo.

"Now it chanced that during the siege of Florence, Pier Francesco Borgherini had retired to Lucca, when Giovan Battista Palla, who desired to get the decorations of this chamber, as well as other works, into his hands, with intention to transport them into France, where they were to be presented to the king Francis, in the name of the Signoria: Giovan Battista, I say, found means to procure so many abettors, and so contrived, both to do and to say, that the Gonfaloniere and the Signori furnished with him a commission, by virtue of which the whole were to be taken away, and the price thereof paid to the wife of Pier Francesco.

"Thereupon Giovan Battista repaired with others to the house of Borgherini, for the purpose of causing the command of the Signori to be put in execution; but when they arrived there, the wife of Pier Francesco, who had remained at home, confronted the principal assailant with reproaches of such intolerable bitterness that the like had never before been hurled at man alive:—

"'How then! dost thou, Giovan Battista, thou, vile broker of frippery, miserable huckster of twopences, does thou presume to come hither with intent to lay thy fingers on the ornaments which belong to the chambers of gentlemen? despoiling, as thou hast long done and as thou art for ever doing, this our City of her fairest and richest ornaments, to embellish strange lands therewith, and to adorn the Halls of our enemies. Not that I can marvel at thee, man of a base lineage, and traitor to thy country, however grovelling may be thy acts; but for the magistrates of our city, who have descended to abet these abominable proceedings, what shall be said? This bed, which thou, for thy own greediness of gain and sordid self-interest, wouldst now lay hands on, vainly seeking to veil thine evil purposes under a fair pretence,—this bed was adorned with all the beauty which enriches it by my father-in-law Salvi, in honour of my nuptials; to which he held this magnificent and regal ornament but the fitting decoration; I, then, do prize this gift, both

del Sarto painted a Head of Christ,[45] which is now preserved by the Servite monks on the altar of the Annunciation; and this is so beautiful, that for my part I do not know whether the human imagination could possibly conceive any more admirable representation of the head of the Redeemer. In the Chapels of the church of San Gallo, which is situate beyond the city gate, there were many other pictures besides the two painted by Andrea, but none of which were equal to those by his hand, wherefore as there was another about to be executed in the church, the monks induced the owner of the chapel wherein it was to be painted, to entrust the commission for the same to our artist. He commenced the work accordingly without delay, depicting therein four figures standing upright and holding a disputation respecting the Trinity;[46] one of these represents Sant' Agostino

from reverence to his memory and out of the love I bear my husband; wherefore, I mean to defend it with my own blood, and will retain it while I have life. Depart from this house, then, Giovan Battista, thou and thy myrmidons; depart, and say to those who have permitted themselves to send thee hither, with command to remove these labours of art from their place, that I am here; I, who will not suffer that one iota shall be disturbed from where it stands. Tell them, moreover, that if it befit them to listen to the counsels of such as thou art, base creature of nothingness, and if they must needs make presents to the king, Francis of France, tell them, I say, that they may go to their own houses, and, despoiling their own chambers of their ornaments, may send them to his Majesty.

"'For thyself, if again thou shouldst be so bold as to come on a similar errand to this house, thou shalt be amply taught what is the respect due to the dwelling of a gentleman, from such as thou art, and that to thy serious discomfort, make thyself sure of it.'

"Thus spoke Madonna Margherita, wife of Pier-Francesco Borgherini, and daughter of Ruberto Acciaiuoli, a Florentine noble of great wisdom. She was in truth a woman entirely worthy to be the daughter of such a father; and by her noble daring and firmness of spirit she caused these gems of art to be respected, and kept them, where they still remain, to adorn the dwellings of her house."

[45] This head is still upon the altar, perhaps the most "popular" altar in Florence, and is always seen in the yellow mellowness which comes from a whole constellation of swinging lamps hung closely before and about it. This light is so dazzling that it is hard to see the face of Christ, which looks out from a certain mystery of deep, warm color that swallows up all detail, but adds not a little to its effectiveness as a whole.

[46] This is the so-called *Disputà*. SS. Augustine, Peter Martyr (St. Domi-

arrayed in the episcopal robes and with features of a character which is truly African; he is moving with impetuous action towards St. Peter the Martyr, who holds an open book aloft with earnest and haughty gestures; the head and figure of the latter have been much extolled. Near San Pietro stands San Francesco, who also bears a book with one hand, while, with the other pressed to his bosom, he seems to be pouring from his lips with the most fervid eloquence, his own impressions in regard to the subject of dispute, appearing to be struggling mightily meanwhile to repress the intensity of his emotions. San Lorenzo, being still very young, is listening to the discourse of the other Saints with the semblance of respectful attention, and appears to yield to the authority of his elders.

Beneath this group are two figures kneeling, one of whom, a Magdalen with most beautiful draperies, is the portrait of Andrea's wife, indeed he rarely painted the countenance of a woman in any place that he did not avail himself of the features of his wife; and if at any time he took his model from any other face, there was always a resemblance to hers in the painting, not only because he had this woman constantly before him and depicted her so frequently, but also, and what is still more, because he had her lineaments en-

nic ?), Francis, and Lawrence are holding a conference regarding the doctrine of the Trinity, while the Magdalene and St. Sebastian are mere auditors. This work was much injured by the inundation of 1555. The *Disputà* is the finest of a whole series of large altar-pieces by Andrea in the Pitti. It is an admirable picture, full of beauty, yet also, in some of its parts, foreshadowing that loss of grasp which Andrea, either through indifference or discouragement, showed in many of his works. The picture leaves little room for criticism, but some of the other altar-pieces of the Pitti must be ranked among those puzzling pictures which at first make a great impression and yet afterwards fail to hold the onlooker as do many works. This is largely because, first, the visitor who has been examining the tentative although charming work of the fifteenth century, in arriving before the pictures of Andrea del Sarto, suddenly comes into the presence of a man who is in easy possession of a perfected *technique*. This assured competency assures the spectator also, who is greatly impressed until he realizes that in some of the large altar-pieces this easy possession is only too easily used, in short, that the painter, for some reason or other, has not done his best or nearly his best.

graven on his heart; it thus happens that almost all his female heads have a certain something which recalls that of his wife.

The second of the four figures is a San Sebastiano, he is entirely undraped, with his back turned to the spectator, and does not appear to be merely part of a painted surface, but rather seems to all who behold him to be in truth a living and breathing figure. This work, among all the many paintings in oil that were executed by Andrea, has ever been held by artists to be the best; the figures display much thought in their admirable proportions, and in a certain decorum and propriety manifest in the expression of their countenances; the heads of the young have the softness proper to their age; there is force and perhaps hardness in the old; while those of middle age exhibit a medium between both, and partake of the qualities of each. The work is, in a word, most beautiful in all its parts; it is now in the church of San Jacopo-tra-fossi at the corner of the Alberti, with others by the hand of the same master.

While Andrea was thus labouring over these works in Florence poorly remunerated for his toils, living in wretched poverty and wholly incapable of raising himself from his depressed condition,[47] the two pictures which he had sent into France, were obtaining much admiration from King

[47] In the first edition of our author this paragraph commences as follows: "Andrea now began to feel, not that the beauties of his wife had become wearisome, but that the mode of his life was an oppression to him; his error had become in part apparent to his perceptions; he saw that he could never lift himself from the earth; though perpetually toiling, he did so to no purpose. He had the father and all the sisters of his wife devouring every thing he gained, and though well-accustomed to that burthen, he could not be insensible to the weight thereof, and he finally became tired of the life he was leading. Knowing this, some friend, who still loved him, though more perhaps as an artist than as a man, advised him to change his dwelling, leaving his wife in some more secure abode for a time, that so he might at a future period receive her again, when they might live in a manner more creditable to him. He had hardly been brought to a conviction of his error, and to the persuasion that something should be done towards the discovery of a remedy, when such an occasion for re-instating himself was presented to him as he had never had before, since the time when he had taken a

Francis, and among the many others which had been despatched to him from Rome, Venice, and Lombardy, these had been adjudged to be by far the best. That monarch therefore, praising them very highly, was told that he might easily prevail on Andrea to visit France, when he might enter the service of His Majesty; this proposal was exceedingly agreeable to the king, who therefore gave orders that everything needful should be done for that purpose, and that a sum of money for the expenses of the journey, should be paid to Andrea in Florence. The latter gladly set forth [48] on his way to France accordingly, taking with him his scholar Andrea Sguazzella.

Having in due time arrived at the French court, they were received by the monarch very amicably and with many favours, even the first day of his arrival was marked to Andrea by proofs of that magnanimous sovereign's liberality and courtesy, since he at once received not only a present of money, but the added gift of very rich and honourable vestments. He soon afterwards commenced his labours, rendering himself so acceptable to the king as well as to the whole court, and receiving so many proofs of good-will from all, that his departure from his native country soon appeared to our artist to have conducted him from the extreme of wretchedness to the summit of felicity. One of Andrea's first works in France was the portrait of the Dauphin, the son of the king, a child born but a few months previously, and still in his swathing bands; [49] wherefore, having taken this painting to the king, he received in return three hundred ducats of gold.

Continuing his labours, he afterwards painted [50] a figure of Charity for King Francis, this was considered an exceed-

wife. The two pictures which he had sent into France," etc.—Mrs. Foster's Notes.

[48] In 1518.

[49] Paul Mantz thinks this child was the dauphin François de Viennois, afterward Duc de Bretagne, who died in 1536.

[50] In 1518; it is now in the Louvre. Old copies exist in the Museums of Nantes and Angers.

ingly beautiful picture, and was held by that monarch in all the estimation due to so admirable a work. From that time the king commanded that a very considerable income should be annually paid to Andrea, doing his utmost to induce the painter to remain contentedly at his court, and promising that he should never want for anything that he could desire; and this happened because the promptitude of Andrea in his works, and the easy character of the man, who was satisfied with everything around him, were both agreeable to King Francis; he gave very great satisfaction to the whole court also, painting numerous pictures and executing various works of different kinds for the nobles.

And now, had Andrea del Sarto only reflected on all that he had escaped from, and duly weighed the advantageous character of that position to which fate had conducted him, I make no doubt but that, to say nothing of riches, he might have attained to great honours. But one day being employed on the figure of a St. Jerome[51] doing penance, which he was painting for the mother of the king, there came to him certain letters from Florence; these were written to him by his wife,[52] and from that time (whatever

[51] It is doubtful if the St. Jerome was ever painted.

[52] In the first edition of our author the circumstances of Andrea's departure from France and his return to Florence are related as follows:—"One day he received a letter, after having had many others, from Lucrezia, his wife, whom he had left disconsolate for his departure, although she wanted for nothing. Andrea had even ordered a house to be built for them behind the Nunziata, giving her hopes that he might return at any moment; yet as she could not give money to her kindred and connections, as she had previously done, she wrote with bitter complaints to Andrea, declaring that she never ceased to weep, and was in perpetual affliction at his absence; dressing all this up with sweet words, well calculated to move the heart of the luckless man, who loved her but too well, she drove the poor soul half out of his wits; above all, when he read her assurance that if he did not return speedily, he would certainly find her dead. Moved by all this, he resolved to resume his chain, and preferred a life of wretchedness with her to the ease around him, and to all the glory which his art must have secured to him. He was then too so richly provided with handsome vestments by the liberality of the king and his nobles, and found himself so magnificently arrayed, that every hour seemed a thousand years to him, until he could go to show himself in his bravery to his beautiful wife. Taking the money which the king confided to

may have been the cause) he began to think of leaving France ; he asked permission to that effect from the French king accordingly, saying that he desired to return to Florence, but that when he had arranged his affairs in that city, he would return without fail to his majesty : he added, that when he came back his wife should accompany him, to the end that he might remain in France the more quietly ; and that he would bring with him pictures and sculptures of great value. The king, confiding in these promises, gave him money for the purchase of those pictures and sculptures, Andrea taking an oath on the gospels to return within the space of a few months, and that done he departed to his native city.

He arrived safely in Florence,[53] enjoying the society of his beautiful wife and that of his friends, with the sight of his native city during several months ; but when the period specified by the king, and that at which he ought to have returned, had come and passed, he found himself at the end, not only of his own money, but what with building, indulging himself in various pleasures and doing no work, of that belonging to the French monarch also, the whole of which he had consumed. He was nevertheless determined to return to France, but the prayers and tears of his wife had more power than his own necessities, or the faith which he had pledged to the king : he remained therefore in Florence, and the French monarch was so greatly angered thereby, that for a long time after he would not look at the paintings of Florentine masters, and declared that if Andrea ever fell into his hands he would have no regard what-

him for the purchase of pictures, statues, and other fine things, he set off, therefore, having first sworn on the gospels to return in a few months. Arrived happily in Florence, he lived joyously with his wife for some time, making large presents to her father and sisters, but doing nothing for his own parents, whom he would not even see, and who, at the end of a certain period, ended their lives in great poverty and misery."—Mrs. Foster's Notes.

[53] This was in 1519. On October 15, 1520, says Milanesi, Andrea bought the ground and built a house on the corner of the Via della Mandorla and the Via San Sebastiano (now Gino Capponi) ; this house, which was afterward occupied by the painter Federigo Zucchero, still exists.

ever to the distinction of his endowments, but would do him more harm than he had before done him good.[54]

[54] For three centuries the memory of Andrea del Sarto has been blackened by the story that he embezzled, or at best allowed others to steal, the money of his royal patron, Francis I. This story has affected the appreciation of nearly every art-historian; many writers have traced the remorse of Andrea in the deterioration of his work, and Browning, in a noble poem, has given to the so-called guilty artist regretful and sympathetic comprehension. Now this grave accusation rests upon the simple statement of Andrea's pupil, Vasari; not the slightest circumstantial proof of it exists. In the royal account-books of Francis I. there *exists no mention of any such transaction* with Andrea del Sarto. On the other hand, what are the circumstances which *have* been proved? Andrea, after a successful sojourn at the French court, returned to Italy, just as many other Italian artists had returned. We know that life in France, even at court with all its honors, seemed exile to a Tuscan; the *Fontana Bilio* of Benvenuto Cellini's note book is not further removed from the real Fontainebleau of Francis than was French from Florentine life in 1519, and del Sarto was a far more sensitive artist and delicately fibred man than was Benvenuto. In Florence Andrea had a wife, friends, and a great commission—great in its true sense of offering an opportunity for immortality among fellow-countrymen—the decoration of the Scalzo cloister. It may be added that Franciabigio, who, Vasari says later, from a friend became a rival of Andrea, was waiting to complete the order, if del Sarto did not finish it, indeed had even commenced frescoes in the cloister. There is then no great room for wonder at Andrea's quitting France. Now if he had left that country with intent to steal, or had weakly and quickly allowed his moneys to be dissipated in Florence, it is natural to suppose that Andrea's conscience would have considerably interfered with his work. This Vasari gives us to understand was what happened. Andrea first wasted his time in entertainments, then becoming remorseful, thought constantly of the French king and lost heart and friends. The real circumstances, as proved by documents, are these: instead of wasting his time, Andrea immediately began to work hard, taking his share like other painters in the meetings and festivities of the *Pajuolo* and the company of the Trowel, but pushing on his painting actively. Instead of being so mentally disturbed that his work suffered in quality, he devoted several years to the intermittent (but never artistically disconnected) execution of the Scalzo frescoes, which, taken in their entirety, are Andrea's masterpiece, and one of the greatest achievements of his epoch. Instead of being deserted by his friends, he had so many commissions from private citizens, nobles, churchmen, confraternities, that his work suffered in individual cases from this popularity. It is true that he accepted mean prices, so for that matter did the high-minded Donatello, but nothing can be proved by this except that from the beginning Andrea was no business man, and never drove sharp bargains. If he ever became an embezzler it was through weakness; but here again, while Vasari shows him to us as constantly desirous of obtaining the king's favor, the only proof of such a wish is that Andrea commenced a picture, meaning to give it to an influential Frenchman,

Andrea del Sarto remained in Florence therefore, as we have said, and from a highly eminent position he sank to

and when it was successfully finished changed his mind readily as soon as a Florentine noble wished to buy it. This shows little fear of the French king, who, had he desired greatly, as Vasari says he did, to punish Andrea, could easily have done so. The arm of a sovereign was long; it reached from Rome to Paris, witness Louis XII. and Valentinois; from Constantinople to Rome, witness again Cæsar Borgia and the Sultan; keen as was Francis's interest in Italian pictures, his interest in Italian politics was greater; a word from him to his spiritual Father, Leo X., backed by a little promise, would have insured the speedy punishment of Andrea. These political interests of Francis may perhaps furnish a solution to the problem. Among Andrea's biographers the late regretted Paul Mantz assumed the defence of the artist, and published (*Gazette des Beaux Arts*, p. 263, Vol. XV., Second Period, 1877) a document of the highest interest, which shows us, says that author, that Francis I. was practically acquainted with the *mandat fictif*, the bogus order. In some letters to the royal accountants, February 17, 1528, occurred the passage of which the following is a translation: "Although in entrusting to Master Victor Brodeau [Brodeau the poet], secretary of the Queen of Navarre, the sum of 205 l. t. [*livres tournois*], we have declared that the said sum was to be converted into the purchase and provision of certain pictures, portraits, and other minor work which we had ordered him to buy in Flanders, the real truth was and is that the said sum was entrusted to the said Brodeau to be presented in the said country of Flanders to a certain personage regarding whom we wish nothing to be known, and whose name we do not at present wish to announce." The king goes on to order that the said Brodeau shall therefore "never be held accountable for this sum." Now in 1519 there were in Italy many notable men whom Francis would have been glad to bribe. Florence, always the ally of France, was the home of a large party of powerful malcontents who looked to the French king for support; it is quite possible that Andrea, like another Brodeau, was entrusted with moneys for secret delivery. Such a fact would at once explain why he was never pursued. Some hint that the artist had a large sum in his possession was likely to transpire in the narrow-streeted, gossipy little town. The next question would be, What became of the money? To have violated the royal confidence by any explanation would have been highly dangerous to Andrea, not only from fear of the king's displeasure, but more still from that of the person to whom he brought the gift. To say that the best explanation only makes Andrea a bearer of bribes, cannot be considered seriously; a royal order in the sixteenth century left no choice to the recipient of the same; diplomatic affairs were seldom explained to basely born agents who could not refuse such perilous honors. Moreover, Florence was divided at this time; the noblest spirits, the party of freedom, leaned toward France, and money to be delivered to certain Florentines would have seemed to Andrea, if he were patriotic at all, no bribe, but a noble gift from the king. Nothing can be proven either way. Vasari's word has weighed heavily against Andrea, who might perhaps have cleared himself by a deathbed declaration had not the accusation postdated his decease. The

the very lowest, procuring a livelihood and passing his time as he best might.[55]

When Andrea had left Florence for France, the Confraternity of the Barefooted Brethren, in the conviction that he would never return, had made over all the paintings still remaining unfinished in their cloister to Franciabigio, who had already completed two stories therein.[56] But seeing

sums which Andrea is supposed to have dissipated are not accounted for; his house in the Via S. Sebastiano might easily have been paid for with the artist's legitimate gains. That there was unhappiness in Andrea's life seems possible enough, however much or little Lucrezia del Fede may have contributed to it; timid he may have been, and wanting in the moral elevation of Michelangelo and Raphael; perhaps there was even a hidden tragedy of discouragement in his apparently fruitful and laborious career, whether domestic or artistic; but all this is far removed from the baseness that would have made him the robber of his friend and patron, and it is only fair to say for the painter, whose best works plead so loudly for him, that the accusation of Vasari is utterly unsupported by any evidence. In accounting for the inferiority of Andrea's achievements to that of Raphael and Michelangelo we must not accredit it to either his weakness of character or to his wife's influence, or to both together, but must note Vasari's statement that Andrea never worked in Rome. In the year 1509, when Raphael left Tuscany, Florentine prestige was unequalled; but in a few short months Rome became the fountain of inspiration, the theatre of those who would play the greatest parts. Vasari says Andrea was timid, and presumably he was so, certainly he was not the equal of Raphael Sanzio as a master, but Michelangelo's speech to Raphael regarding del Sarto, his "if he were employed like you upon great works," is also highly significant. It was not given to every one to be asked to Rome; Andrea had no Bramante at court; Fra Bartolommeo also failed to support the Roman sojourn, and surely his aims were of the highest; the great Leonardo obtained no Roman employment, but Leonardo was mighty enough to stand by himself even on the further side of the Alps. Bartolommeo and Andrea were not quite of the calibre to force the highest recognition in so exacting an age; they were able to be the best at home; but they saw their native city relegated to the second order, and this relative inferiority of his sphere of action could not fail to be an important factor in the discouragement which seems to have darkened Andrea's life and marred his achievement.

[55] Vasari has left a graphic account of some of Andrea's ways of "passing his time" in the life of Giovan Francesco Rustici, where there are elaborate descriptions of the suppers, masques, and mummeries of the two famous clubs, the Trowel and the Cauldron, to both of which Andrea del Sarto and many other famous Florentines belonged. The festivals, though very elaborate, were only studio frolics, inexpensive, and by no means to be imputed to Andrea as the means of dissipating large sums of money.

[56] These subjects were, St. John receiving the Benediction of his Father, and the Meeting with the Child Jesus.

that Andrea had returned to Florence, the brethren determined that he should resume his labours, and he painted four pictures accordingly in a consecutive series. In the first of these is St. John led before Herod ; in the second is the Supper, and the Dance of Herodias ;[57] with figures grouped with much ability, and of highly appropriate character ; in the third is the beheading of St. John, and in this work the principal executioner, who is partly undraped, is an admirably drawn figure, as indeed are all the others. In the fourth, Herodias holds the head of the Baptist, and in this picture certain figures, whose countenances express their surprise at what they behold, are painted with much thought and ability. These paintings were for some time the study and school of many young men who are now very eminent in our arts.

In a tabernacle which is outside the Pinti gate, at the corner where the road to the Ingesuati turns off, there is a figure of the Virgin painted in fresco by Andrea del Sarto. Our Lady is seated with the Infant Christ in her arms : San Giovanni is in this work depicted as a child ; he is smiling, and the figure is painted with admirable art, being finished so perfectly, that it has been greatly extolled for its beauty and animation. The head of Our Lady is a portrait taken from that of the artist's wife ; and the singular beauty of the painting in this tabernacle, which is of a truth surprisingly perfect, caused the latter to be retained in its place, when at the siege of Florence in 1530, the convent of the Ingesuati, with many other magnificent buildings was razed to the ground.[58]

In those days, the elder Bartolommeo Panciatichi carried on a large extent of traffic in France, and being desirous of leaving a memorial of himself in the French city of Lyons, he gave a commission to Baccio d' Agnolo, to the intent that he should cause Andrea del Sarto to paint a picture for him,

[57] The drawing for Salome holding the head is in Vienna.

[58] Milanesi, V., p. 33, note 1, says this tabernacle still exists, though in a ruinous state. Copies of it are in the Uffizi and elsewhere.

which Baccio was then to send to Lyons, where Bartolommeo Panciatichi then was; the subject chosen was the Assumption of Our Lady, with the Apostles standing around the tomb. This work Andrea executed almost to its conclusion, but did not entirely complete it; for as the wood which formed the panel became warped, and sprang in various places, he sometimes worked at it, and sometimes permitted it to remain untouched for a time; so that it was left unfinished at his death. It was, nevertheless, ultimately placed by the younger Bartolommeo Panciatichi in his house, as a work deserving the highest commendation, as well on account of the beauty to be perceived in the figures of the apostles, as of that which adorns the Madonna; she is surrounded by a choir of Angels, while others support and bear her onward with singular grace of action. In the upper part of the picture is the portrait of Andrea himself, among the apostles; and this is drawn with such truth and nature, that it appears to be rather a living being than a mere painting. This picture is now in a villa belonging to the Baroncelli family, situate at a short distance from Florence, and in a small building * close to the villa, which was erected to receive it by Piero Salviati.[59]

At the upper part of the kitchen-garden which belongs to the Servite Monks, and in two angles of the wall, are two stories by Andrea, representing the Vineyard of Christ; showing it first, that is to say, when he is planting, binding, and training the vines, the husbandman appearing and summoning those to the labour who are standing idle around. Among the latter is one who, being asked if he also will take part in the work, has seated himself, and rubbing his hands, appears to be considering whether he should enter among those labourers or not, exactly in the way that those idle people do who have but little mind to work. The

* For building read little church (*chiesetta*).

[59] It is in the Pitti Gallery, and contains the portrait of Andrea as stated by Vasari. A second picture, of the same size and subject, but differing in detail, and which came in 1639 from Cortona to Florence, is also in the same room in the Pitti Gallery. It was ordered of Andrea in 1526.

second of these pictures is much more beautiful.[60] It represents the husbandman causing each labourer to receive his appointed hire, while those who are dissatisfied murmur and bemoan themselves. Among these labourers, one, who is counting his money apart, and seems deeply intent on examining the sum assigned to him, is a most life-like figure, as is the Steward from whom the labourers are receiving their hire. Both these pictures are in chiaroscuro, and the fresco painting gives proof of extraordinary skill. Andrea afterwards painted a Pietà in a recess on the summit of a staircase in the Noviciate of the same Convent; this also is painted in fresco, and is very beautiful.[61] There is besides another Pietà, a small picture in oil, by the same master, in a room formerly inhabited by Angelo of Arezzo, General of the Order, in the monastery in question, where there is moreover a Birth of Christ by Andrea del Sarto.

The same artist painted a picture of Our Lady, for one of the apartments in the house of Zanobi Bracci, who greatly desired to possess a work by his hand. The Madonna is in a kneeling position, and is leaning against a mass of rock, while fixedly contemplating the Infant Christ, who is lying on a heap of drapery, and looks smilingly up at the Virgin Mother. San Giovanni, who stands near, is making a sign to the Madonna as in allusion to the Saviour, and as one who would say, "This is truly the Son of God." Behind them is St. Joseph, leaning his head on his hands, which are supported by a rock, and seeming to be in a state of beatitude as he beholds the human race, rendered divine by that birth.[62]

Pope Leo having commissioned the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici to cause the ceiling of the Great Hall in the Poggio

[60] The first of these pictures was destroyed in 1704 by the falling of the wall, the second is still discernible though badly injured; the drawing for it is in the Corsini collection at Rome (Milanesi, V., p. 34, notes 2 and 3).

[61] It is in the Florentine Academy. Vasari says in his first edition that Andrea painted it in return for a packet of candles. It should be remembered that votive candles were frequently very expensive.

[62] It is in the *Sala d'Apollo* of the Pitti Gallery, and was executed in 1521.

a Cajano, a palace and villa of the house of Medici, which is situate between Pistoja and Florence, to be decorated with stucco work and paintings, the charge of that business was committed to the illustrious Ottaviano de' Medici, as was also that of paying the monies for the same; he being a person who, not degenerating from his ancestors, was well acquainted with matters of the kind. He was besides the friendly protector of our artists, and the promoter of all our arts, having more pleasure than most men in adorning his house with the works of the most eminent masters. The whole undertaking had been made over to Franciabigio, but Ottaviano now commanded that he should have one-third only, the other two-thirds being divided, and one of them being given to Andrea del Sarto, while the one still remaining was entrusted to Jacopo da Pontormo.

But whatever efforts Ottaviano made to forward this work —whatever sums of money he promised, and even paid to the artist, he could by no means accomplish the completion of the decorations. It is true that Andrea finished one façade with great assiduity, but this was all. The subject there represented, was Cæsar receiving tribute of all kinds of animals. The drawing for this picture is among those in our book, with many others by the same artist; it is in chiaroscuro, and is the most carefully finished of any that Andrea ever executed. In this work the master, desiring to surpass Franciabigio and Jacopo, subjected himself to labours that were no longer usual, exhibiting a magnificent view of buildings in perspective, with a flight of steps exceedingly difficult and intricate in character, which formed the ascent to the Throne of Cæsar. These steps he adorned with statues admirably arranged, not allowing himself to be satisfied with the rich and varied powers of invention which he had displayed in the great diversity of the figures by whom the different animals are borne or led forward. Among these is an Indian in a yellow cassock or tunic, and bearing on his back a cage, which is drawn in perspective, and is filled with parrots of extraordinary beauty; while

others, equally rare, are on the outer side. The figures, who are leading Indian Goats, Lions, Giraffes, Panthers, Wolves, Lynxes, Apes, &c., many of whom are Moors, have also great merit, and are exceedingly well arranged ; the fresco, in which they are all depicted, being a work of the very highest perfection.[63]

On the steps that we have mentioned as making part of the painting just described, is a Dwarf who holds a box or case, wherein there is a Chameleon, so admirably well done, that it would not be possible to imagine the deformity of that strange creature more correctly or more justly represented. But the whole work was not finished, as I have said ; and although when Pope Leo died the Duke Alessandro de' Medici was very anxious to have it completed by Jacopo da Pontormo, yet he could never prevail on him to put a hand to it, a thing which is of a truth to be much lamented, and one that did great wrong to that building, which is one of the most beautiful halls that any villa in the world can boast.

On his return to Florence, Andrea del Sarto painted a half length and undraped figure of San Giovanni Battista ; this picture, which was very beautiful, he executed for Giovanni Maria Benintendi, by whom it was afterwards presented to the Signor Duke Cosimo.[64]

While his affairs were going on in this manner, Andrea could not fail sometimes to think of his conduct in the matter of the French king, when he would sigh from his heart,

[63] This fresco, still in existence, was commenced in 1521, and was interrupted by the death of Leo X. ; in 1580 Alessandro Allori continued and completed it. Pontormo's fresco in the same room is an admirable one. Vasari's statement that Pontormo refused to set his hand to the completion of Andrea's work may be read as the legitimate objection of one artist to finish another's picture (an objection, however, which was unusual in sixteenth-century Italy), or it may be coupled with the fact that Pontormo had been seriously offended by Andrea's wife, Lucrezia (see Vasari). Paul Mantz is disposed to hold Pontormo as the person principally responsible for information regarding Andrea's domestic and other difficulties. The Louvre possesses a drawing which is one of the studies for del Sarto's fresco of the Cæsar.

[64] There is a S. Giovanni in the Pitti which may be that mentioned above, or, on the other hand, may be the one sold to Ottaviano de' Medici.

and if he could have hoped to receive pardon for the fault he had committed, I make no doubt but that he would have returned to the service of that monarch. Nay, by way of trying how far fortune might be favourable to him, he determined to make an attempt, whereby he should ascertain whether his abilities might not yet avail to restore him to favour. He consequently painted a figure of San Giovanni Battista, partially undraped, intending to despatch the same to France, to be presented to the Grand Master;[65] yet, whatever the cause may have been I know not, but certain it is, that Andrea never sent it; he sold the picture, on the contrary, to the illustrious Ottaviano de' Medici, by whom it was always held in high estimation to the end of his days. Our painter likewise executed two pictures of the Madonna for the same noble, and in a similar manner; these are now both in the palace of the latter.[66]

No long time after these works were completed, Zanobi Bracci caused Andrea to paint a picture for Monsignore di San Biause,[67] and this the painter completed with the utmost care, in the hope that it might contribute to regain for him the favour of King Francis, to whose service he would so gladly have returned. For Lorenzi Jacopi he likewise painted a picture of a much larger size than common; the subject chosen was Our Lady seated, with the Divine Child in her arms, she is accompanied by two other figures, seated near her on a slightly elevated estrade; this work, both as regards design and colouring, is similar to those before described.[68] He also painted a picture of Our Lady for Giovanni d' Agostino Dini, which is exceedingly beautiful, and is now held in the highest estimation;[69]

[65] Anne de Montmorency, Grand Master and Constable of France under Francis I.

[66] These Madonnas cannot be identified; Milanesi suggests that they may be in Naples in the house of the Ottajano princes.

[67] Jacques Beaune de Semblançay, Intendant of Finance under Francis I.

[68] Milanesi, V., p. 38, note 1, says (quoting Bottari) that it was sold in 1605 to the Duke of Mantua; but he gives no further account of it.

[69] It is at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Andrea likewise executed a portrait of Cosimo Lupi * from the life, and this is so natural that it appears to be alive.

In the year 1523 the plague appeared in Florence as well as in some parts of the surrounding country, when Andrea, desiring to withdraw himself from that peril, and at the same time wishing to continue his labours, was enabled by the intervention of Antonio Brancacci to repair to Mugello, there to paint a picture for the nuns of San Piero, of the order of Camaldoli, at Luco : he took with him his wife and her sister, with a step-daughter and one of his scholars. Remaining here therefore in quiet and safety, he set hand to the work, and as those venerable ladies were daily giving increasing proof of kindness and friendliness to his wife, himself, and the whole party, Andrea set himself with infinite devotion to the execution of that picture, wherein he represented the Dead Christ mourned over by Our Lady, San Giovanni Evangelista and Santa Maria Maddalena, all figures so full of life that they appear indeed to be endowed with soul and spirit.[70] The tender affection of San Giovanni is made manifest in his countenance, and the love of the Magdalen is rendered clearly obvious amidst the tears of her grief, while the extremity of sorrow is equally apparent in the attitude as well as the face of the Madonna ; and as she contemplates the dead body of the Saviour, which does indeed appear to be in relief, and is in effect a true dead corpse, she causes so much compassion in the apostles San Pietro and San Paolo, that they stand as if bewildered and terrified, as they regard the Redeemer of the world lying dead in the bosom of his mother. The wonderful manner in which the emotions of these different persons are expressed might indeed alone suffice to prove the pleasure which Andrea found in the beauty and perfection of his art, and this picture has of a truth done more to procure a name for that Convent than all the buildings

* Lapi in Milanesi's edition.

[70] This picture, painted in 1524, is in the Pitti Gallery ; the *Gradino* (possibly by a pupil) and frame are still at Luco.

and other decorations, however costly, which have been undertaken there, although they are without doubt very magnificent and extraordinary.

Having finished his work, Andrea continued, as the peril of the plague was not yet passed, to abide for some weeks in the same place, and the rather as he received so friendly a welcome,[71] and found himself to be so well treated. During that time, and to the end that he might not remain idle, he painted a Visitation of Our Lady to St. Elizabeth; this is in the church on the right hand, and above a Presepio, having been executed over a small painting by an older master and as a finish to the same.[72] He likewise painted an exceedingly beautiful Head of Christ on a canvas of no great size; this is somewhat similar to that on the altar of the Nunziata, but is not so highly finished, although it may well be accounted among the better works which proceeded from the hands of this master. The Reverend Father Don Antonio, of Pisa, who is a friend not only of those who are eminent in our arts, but of all men of distinction in whatever kind, has this picture in his possession and it is now in the monastery of the Angeli in Florence.[73] There are several copies of this painting, seeing that Don Silvano Razzi, having entrusted it to the painter Zanobi Poggini, to the end that he might make a copy of it for Bartolommeo Gondi, who had requested to have one, some others, which are held in high estimation in Florence, were also made from the work.

In this manner Andrea passed the time while the plague was raging without danger, while the nuns of that convent obtained such a work from the talent of so distinguished a man, that it may well endure comparison with the best paintings executed in our times; wherefore it is not to be

[71] 1523.

[72] This work was removed in 1818, and cannot now be identified.

[73] This work is lost. Milanesi, V., p. 40, note 1, says, however, that there are apparently many *repliche* existing, each one claimed as an original by the owners. One of the finest is, according to the same author, in the Gallery of St. Petersburg.

wondered at if Ramazzotto, chief of the party of Scaricalasino, made all possible endeavours to obtain it during the siege of Florence, or that he should many times attempt to gain possession of the same, since he desired to send it to Bologna, where he proposed to place that work in his chapel in the church of San Michele in Bosco.

Having returned to Florence, Andrea del Sarto painted a picture for the worker in glass, Beccuccio da Gambassi, who was his intimate friend : the subject of this work was Our Lady represented in the heavens with the Divine Child in her arms ; there are besides four figures beneath ; San Giovanni Battista namely, Santa Maria Maddalena, San Sebastiano, and San Rocco.[74] In the predella are this Beccuccio and his wife, taken from nature, and these figures are portraits of the most life-like truth : the picture is now at Gambassa, a fortified place in the Valdelsa, between Volterra and Florence. For Zanobi Bracci, Andrea painted an exceedingly beautiful picture of the Madonna with the Divine Infant at the breast ; St. Joseph is also present : this work was destined for the villa which Zanobi had at Rovezzano, it is painted with infinite care, and the figures appear to be standing out from the picture, so extraordinary a degree of relief has the artist succeeded in imparting to them : it is now in the house of Messer Antonio Bracci, son of the above-named Zanobi.[75]

About the same time, Andrea painted two additional stories in the cloister of the Barefooted Brethren, which we have before mentioned ; in one of these he has represented Zacharias, who is offering sacrifice and is rendered dumb on the Angel appearing to him, and in the other is the Visitation of Our Lady, which is beautiful to a marvel.

Now it chanced that Federigo the 2nd, Duke of Mantua, when passing through Florence on his way to Rome,

[74] There is such a picture in the Pitti, including also Saints Onofrio and Lorenzo (Milanesi, V., p. 40, note 3).

[75] According to Milanesi the Casa Bracci picture was eventually sold to a French merchant in or after 1818. St. Petersburg has a similar subject but which was acquired earlier. See Milanesi, V., p. 40, note 4.

whither he was proceeding to offer his respects to Pope Clement VII., saw that portrait of Pope Leo, which represents the Pontiff between Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and the Cardinal Rossi, and which had formerly been painted by the most excellent Raffaello da Urbino, over a door in the palace of the Medici; wherefore, being infinitely pleased therewith, as a man who delighted greatly in fine paintings, he thought to make it his own, and thus when he found a good opportunity, he begged it as a gift from Pope Clement, who very courteously granted him that favour; orders were therefore sent to Florence to Ottaviano de' Medici, under whose care and government were Ippolito and Alessandro, to the effect that it should be packed up and sent to Mantua.

But this command was exceedingly displeasing to Ottaviano, who was not willing to see Florence deprived of such a picture, and who marvelled much that the Pope should so readily have agreed to such a request. He replied, nevertheless, that he would not fail to do as the duke wished, but remarked that as the frame was in a very bad condition, he would have a new one made, and when it had been gilt he would send the picture in all safety to Mantua. Then Messer Ottaviano, having done this, "to save the goat and the cabbage," as we say, sent secretly for Andrea del Sarto, and told him how the matter stood, adding that there was nothing for it but to make an exact copy, with all the care that could possibly be devised, and sent that to the duke, retaining, but in the strictest secrecy, the work which had been performed by the hand of Raffaello.

Andrea having thereupon given a promise to do the utmost that his skill and knowledge could effect, a panel of exactly similar size, and in all respects like that of the original work, was prepared; the master then laboured secretly at his task in the house of Messer Ottaviano, and ultimately acquitted himself in such a manner, that although Messer Ottaviano was profoundly versed in matters of art, yet when Andrea had finished his work, he did not

know the one picture from the other; nor could he distinguish the true and original painting from the counterfeit; the resemblance having been further secured by the fact that our artist had copied even to the spots of dirt as they were to be seen on the work of Raphael. After they had hidden the picture of the latter therefore, they sent the one executed by the hand of Andrea del Sarto, in a frame like that of the original, to Mantua, where the duke received it with extreme satisfaction. Even Giulio Romano, though a painter and the disciple of Raffaello, was deceived by the resemblance, and bestowed on it innumerable praises, without perceiving any thing of what had been done; nor would he have known the truth, on the contrary, he would have always believed the work to be that of Raphael; but when Giorgio Vasari arrived in Mantua, he who had been the favourite and *protégé* of Ottaviano in his childhood, and had seen Andrea working on the picture, discovered and made known the whole affair. For as it chanced that Giulio, who conferred many kindnesses and favours on Vasari, was showing him the various antiquities and paintings belonging to the duke, this work of Raffaello was exhibited among the latter as the best of all that were to be seen there. Giorgio thereupon remarked, "The picture is a beautiful one without doubt, but it is not by the hand of Raphael." "How!" exclaimed Giulio, "not by his hand? do not I know the work, when I recognize the very strokes of the pencil that I did myself give to it while it was in course of execution?" "You are nevertheless in error and have forgotten them," replied Giorgio, "for this was painted by Andrea del Sarto, and as a proof of what I say, there is a sign (and he described it to him) which was made in Florence, to the end that the one might be distinguished from the other, for when they were together it was not possible to say which was by Raphael and which by Andrea." When Giulio heard this, he caused the picture to be turned round, and having discovered the counter-sign, he shrugged his shoulders, saying

these words, "I esteem it no less than I should do if it were by the hand of Raphael, nay, rather much more, for it is a most amazing thing that one excellent master should have been capable of imitating the manner of another to such a degree, and should have found it possible to produce a work so exactly similar to the original.[76]

But enough of this, which yet suffices to show what the art of Andrea was, even when compared with that of so great a master; and we see besides that he was thereby enabled, in concert with the prudence and judgment of Messer Ottaviano, to satisfy the duke, while Florence was yet not deprived of so admirable a work. The latter was subsequently presented by the Duke Alessandro to Messer Ottaviano, who retained it many years in his possession, and finally made a gift thereof to the Duke Cosimo, who has it in his guardaroba with many other renowned pictures.[77] While Andrea was occupied with the copy here in question, he likewise painted the head of the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Clement, in a separate picture; this also is exceedingly beautiful, and exactly similar to that by Raphael in the picture of Pope Leo: it was ultimately presented by Messer Ottaviano to the old Bishop De' Marzi.

No long time after the completion of these works, it happened that Messer Baldo Magni,[78] of Prato, desired to present a picture of beauty and value to the Madonna delle Carcere in his native city, where he had already caused a magnificent decoration in marble to be prepared by way of

[76] According to a tradition which had been maintained to the time of the painter Gabbiani, by whom it was imparted to Bottari, the sign or mark made by Andrea del Sarto was his own name, written on the edge or in the thickness of the panel, and which was of course concealed by the frame.—Mrs. Foster's Notes.

[77] Now in the Pitti Gallery; the copy made by Andrea is in the Museum of Naples. It was probably painted in 1525, as at that time Vasari, who was a disciple of Andrea, was living in the house of Ottaviano de' Medici.

[78] This name was written Magini in the first edition of Vasari. Baldo Magini was a public-spirited citizen of Prato, who founded the monastery of San Clemente and gave funds for the reopening of the local *Monte di Pietà*.

frame-work to the same : on this occasion, therefore, Andrea del Sarto was proposed to Messer Baldo, among many other painters, for the execution of the work ; whereupon Messer Baldo, although not well acquainted with matters of the kind, felt more inclined to accept the services of Andrea than of any of the others, and had all but given him to understand that himself and no other artist should perform that work, when a certain Niccolò Soggi of Sansovino, who had some interest in Prato, was presented to Messer Baldo, and was so zealously supported by the assertions of his friends that no better master than he was could be found, that Messer Baldo, hearing him so much praised, entrusted him with the undertaking. Meanwhile the friends of Andrea, having sent for him, and he, supposing the work to be his own, repaired with Domenico Puligo, and other painters who were his associates, to Prato, but having arrived in that place they found that Niccolò Soggi had not only caused Messer Baldo to change his mind, but was also bold and shameless enough to say to Andrea, in the presence of Messer Baldo, that he would willingly bet any sum of money with him as to who should produce the best work in painting, the winner to receive the whole sum.

Andrea, who knew what Niccolò could do, though not often showing himself to have much spirit, did on that occasion reply to some purpose, saying, "I have here one of my young disciples, who has not been long studying our art, and if thou hast a mind to bet with him, I will lay down the money for him, but with myself thou shalt make no wager for any sum whatever, seeing that if I vanquish thee, that could not be any addition to my honour, whereas if thou shouldest conquer me it must be to my perpetual shame." Having then told Messer Baldo that he would do well to give the work to Niccolò, since he would be sure to do it in such a manner as would please the people going to market, Andrea returned to Florence.

He then received a commission to paint a picture for

Pistoja,* and which was to be placed in a church dedicated to the Madonna, and called Sant' Agnesa, which is situate close to the wall of that city, between the old citadel and the cathedral. This work was divided into five compartments, in each of which the master depicted a single figure, St. John the Baptist and St. Peter namely, who are placed one on each side of the Madonna of Sant' Agnesa, which is one of those that work miracles; with St. Catherine the Martyr, St. Agnesa, and St. Margaret: the last named figures being so remarkable for their beauty, that they awaken astonishment in all who behold them, and are considered to be the most graceful and most admirable female figures ever painted by this master.[79]

Now, it chanced that Messer Jacopo, a Monk of the Servites, had commanded a woman, whom he had absolved from a vow, to cause a figure of Our Lady to be painted over the side-door of the Nunziata, which leads into the cloister, by way of commutation: meeting with Andrea, therefore, the monk told him that having this money to spend and there being but little of it, he thought it would be well if he, who had already obtained so much reputation by the works which he had executed in that place, would undertake this also, rather than suffer it to be done by others: to which Andrea, who was a sufficiently obliging person, replied, that he would do it willingly, being moved partly by the persuasions of the Monk, partly by his wish for the payment, and partly by his hopes of fame. Shortly afterwards, therefore, he commenced the work accordingly, and painted a very beautiful Madonna in fresco; Our Lady is seated with the divine Child in her arms, and there is also a St. Joseph, who is leaning on a sack, and has his eyes fixed on an open book. This work is executed in such a manner, the drawing, the grace of the figures, the beauty

* This is Pisa, not Pistoja, in the edition of Milanesi.

[79] These very charming works are still in the Cathedral at Pisa, but the altar-piece has been separated into different panels which are now in different parts of the church.

of colouring, the life-like animation, and the force of the relief, are of such perfection, that the picture proves Andrea to have far excelled and surpassed all the painters who had laboured up to that time ; the painting is of a truth so complete, that it speaks plainly for itself, and does not need praise from any other quarter to make it known as a most wonderful and extraordinary work.[80]

There was now one story only required to complete the pictures in the cloister of the Barefooted Brethren ; wherefore Andrea, whose manner had become enlarged from the circumstance of his having seen the figures commenced, and in part finished by Michelagnolo in the Sacristy of Lorenzo, Andrea, I say, resolved to set hand to this work also, wherein he gave the ultimate proof of that amelioration just alluded to. The subject chosen was the Birth of San Giovanni Battista : [81] the figures are most beautiful, exhibiting much greater ability, and being in much finer relief, than those which had formerly been executed by Andrea in the same place. Among other most admirable figures in this work, may be distinguished that of a woman, who is bearing the newly-born babe towards the bed wherein is St. Elizabeth, and which is also very beautiful : the same may be said of Zachariah, who is writing on a piece of paper, which he has placed on his knee and is holding with one hand, while he inscribes the name of his son with the other ; all which is done so naturally, that the figure seems to want nothing but the breath itself. Nor less admirable is the figure of an old

[80] This is the famous *Madonna del Sacco*, named from the sack of corn upon which St. Joseph leans ; it was painted in 1525, and is one of the very few works of the sixteenth century which can not only vie with those of Raphael and Michelangelo, but which has much of their lofty spirit without being in any sense an imitation of either master. In composition it is an especially fine *decoration*, filling the semicircular space with peculiar felicity. In design it is ample and sculptural ; in color it is a golden brown, which yet possesses a grayish silvery quality ; its spiritual charm is a blending of robust grace and tenderness. It is one of the most popular of Andrea's works, and is one of those compositions which remain in the memory.

[81] It was paid for June 24, 1526, and is an admirable fresco, although the figures are especially overburdened with drapery.

woman, who is seated on a slightly elevated stool; she is smiling at the parturition of a mother already so far advanced in life as is St. Elizabeth; her attitude and expression exhibiting precisely such an appearance as would be made in actual life on the occurrence of a similar event.

Having finished this work, which is certainly worthy of all praise, Andrea del Sarto painted a picture for the General of Vallombrosa, depicting therein four singularly beautiful figures, San Giovanni Battista namely, San Giovanni Gualberto, founder of the order, San Michele the archangel, and the Cardinal San Bernardo, who was a monk of their order; in the midst of these are certain children, which could not be more life-like nor more beautiful than they are. This picture is now at Vallombrosa, on the summit of a rocky mountain, whereon certain of the monks, separated from the rest, have made their abode in solitary dwellings or cells, almost after the manner of hermits.[82]

From Giuliano Scala, Andrea received a commission to paint a picture, which was destined to be sent to Serrazzana.[83] The subject was a Virgin seated, with the Infant Christ in her arms, and two other figures in half-length, San Celso and Santa Giulia namely: Sant' Onofrio, Santa Caterina, San Benedetto, Sant' Antonio of Padua, San Piero, and San Marco, also form part of this picture, which is esteemed to be fully equal to the other works of our artist. There was beside a semi-circular painting, prepared as the completion of that above described, and destined to be placed over it, but this remained in the hands of Giuliano Scala, who retained it as security for a sum of money which he had advanced on account of those to whom it should have been sent; the subject of this last-mentioned work was the Annunciation, and it is now in the chapel belonging to the above-named Giuliano, which is situate

[82] It is in the Florentine Academy, and is dated 1528. Of the five *predella* panels, four are in the Academy and one is in private hands. There are drawings for this work in Vienna and in the Uffizi.

[83] It is in the Berlin Gallery, and is dated 1528.

near the choir in the principal tribune or apsis of the church of the Servites.[84]

Many years had now elapsed since the monks of San Salvi had thought of having any progress made with the Last Supper, which they had commissioned Andrea to paint at the time when he executed the work before mentioned, that in the arch with the four figures namely. But there came at last an Abbot, who was a man of sense and judgment; by him therefore it was determined that the Last Supper should be completed; and Andrea, who had long before engaged to paint that picture, made no opposition. In a few months he set hand to it accordingly, working at it as he found himself inclined, and doing one part after another, but finishing it at length, and that in such a manner as to compel the acknowledgment of its excellence from all who beheld it. This work is indeed, as it is held to be, among the most animated, whether as regards design or colour, ever executed by the hand of our artist, nay, rather that could be effected by any hand; it gives proof of admirable facility, and the master has imparted grandeur, majesty, and grace, to all the figures, insomuch that I know not what to say of this Supper that would not be too little, seeing it to be such that all who behold it are struck with astonishment. We are therefore not to be surprised if its excellence formed the safeguard of the building in the siege of Florence, in the year 1529, when that convent was suffered to remain standing while the soldiery and spoilers, by command of those who were ruling, destroyed all the suburbs, demolishing and razing to the ground all the monasteries, hospitals, and every other edifice situate without the walls. They were proceeding in truth to tear down a part of the Convent, having already ruined the church and Campanile or bell tower of San Salvi, and had arrived at the Refectory where this Last Supper is; but when the officer by whom they were led saw this work, having prob-

[84] It is in the Pitti Gallery, and has received certain later additions. Milanesi, V., p. 47, note 1.

ably heard people speak of it, he would not permit so wonderful a painting to be destroyed, and, abandoning the place, determined that it should be injured no further, unless it should be found that nothing short of its total destruction would suffice.[85]

For the brotherhood of San Jacopo, called Il Nicchio, Andrea del Sarto afterwards painted a Banner to be carried in their processions; the subject chosen was San Jacopo, who is caressing a boy clothed in the habit of the Flagellants; there is also a second boy holding a book in his hand, and portrayed in a manner which is very natural and graceful.[86] He likewise depicted the portrait of an Intendant of the monks of Vallombrosa, who constantly made

[85] The *Cenacolo* was ordered June 15, 1519. It is certainly the only picture of the Last Supper which can be even distantly compared with that of Leonardo. The first impression which it makes upon the *connoisseur* is a *technical* one; it has a peculiarly competent and skilful look, to which the student of the Renaissance is unused. There is here a treatment of color which is almost modern, a treatment, that is, of special portions of the color; for instance, the two figures in the upper part of the fresco, figures leaning upon a simulated window-ledge have (the half-light of the upper portion of the great room may perhaps be accountable for it) a rich luminousness which is almost Venetian, and a soft luminousness which is almost modern French; on the other hand, this criticism must be applied only to the color in detail, and not to it as composition of color. It is rather accidental or arbitrary in arrangement than composed; indeed, one may even go so far as to say that it is badly put together as to color composition; add to all this that great competency seems to obtain in handling, and that there is a decorative flatness about the *Cenacolo* which almost suggests Tiepolo (although the character of the work is a whole world removed from this later Venetian artist), and it will readily be admitted that we have in it a picture which differs surprisingly from other wall paintings of the Florentine school. It nowhere even approaches the spiritual masterliness of Leonardo or his technical subtlety of composition, but in it Andrea easily surpasses all the other painters who have treated the same subject. The Christ, though far less noble than Leonardo's, lacks neither dignity nor suavity; the hands, truly Italian in the dramatic part that they play, are beautiful in drawing and expression, and if they are a trifle declamatory, we can hardly blame the artist painting in the days of Raphael's cartoons for the tapestries, for emphatic gesticulation. Considered as a whole, though the *Cenacolo* falls short of the highest standard, that standard in 1519 had become so lofty that a painter even of the second rank could be a great master.

[86] This picture is in the Uffizi.

his abode in the country, for the purpose of attending to the affairs of his monastery; the picture was placed beneath an arbour of vines, around which the Intendant had arranged shady walks and many contrivances after his own fancy, but where it was somewhat exposed to wind and weather: so it was, nevertheless, that the Intendant, who was a friend of Andrea, would have it.[87]

When Andrea had finished this work, he found that certain colours and other materials were left remaining, whereupon he took up a tile and calling his wife, Lucrezia, he said to her, "Come hither, wife, and since we have these colours left, I will take your portrait, that all may see how well you have preserved your good looks even at this time of your life, but also that it may be likewise seen to how great an extent your features have altered, and how widely different this portrait will therefore be from those made at an earlier period." But the woman would not remain still, perhaps because she had other things in her head at the moment; and Andrea, as though almost divining that his end was near, took a mirror and drew his own portrait on that tile instead, executing the same so naturally and to such perfection, that one might almost believe him to be in life. This portrait is now in the possession of the above-named Madonna Lucrezia his wife, who still survives.[88]

Andrea likewise painted the portrait of a certain Canon of Pisa who was a very intimate friend of his, and this likeness, which is a very life-like and beautiful one, is still in Pisa.[89] He afterwards commenced the cartoons for the paintings with which, by command of the Signoria, the balustrades of the Ringhiera,[90] on the Piazza were to be decorated; and herein also he has displayed much fancy and power of invention, more particularly in the compart-

[87] It is almost unnecessary to say that this work is lost.

[88] This is the picture in that room of the Uffizi which is devoted to the portraits of painters.

[89] This work is supposed to be lost.

[90] The *Ringhiera* was a great stone platform on one side of the Palazzo Vecchio, especially devoted to public functions.

ments appropriated to the various quarters of the city, and in the banners of the Capetudini,[91] which last are supported by children ; there are besides ornaments consisting of picturesque representations of the different virtues, with the mountains and most important rivers of the Florentine dominions. But this work thus begun, remained incomplete by reason of Andrea's death, as was also the case with a picture which he had commenced for the monks of Vallombrosa at their Abbey of Poppi in Casentino, but which was all but finished. The subject of the last-mentioned work was an Assumption of Our Lady, who is surrounded by numerous angels in the forms of children ; San Giovanni Gualberto, the cardinal San Bernardo, who, as it is said, was a monk of their order, Santa Caterina and San Fedele are beneath ; this picture, unfinished as it is, is now in the above-named Abbey of Poppi.[92]

There was also a picture, but not of any great size, which, when finished, was to have gone to Pisa, and which likewise remained incomplete at the death of Andrea.[93] He also left a very beautiful picture that was entirely finished, in his house at the time of his death, with some others, but the first named is now in the possession of Filippo Salviati.[94]

It was about this time that Giovanni Battista della Palla, having bought up whatever paintings and sculptures of merit he could lay his hands on, had despoiled Florence of

[91] According to Bottari this word was used to designate an assemblage of the Syndics or Consuls of the Guilds. The Capitudini represented, says Milanesi, the twenty-one Guilds of Florence.

[92] It was painted 1529–31, and is in the Pitti Gallery ; for a long note giving details, see Milanesi, V., p. 49, note 5. Mr. Bernhard Berenson's admirable pages upon Del Sarto should be read in his Italian Painters of the Renaissance ; after high praises of the master's great qualities he laments the fact that Andrea, "by constantly sacrificing, first spiritual and then material significance to pose and draperies," sometimes lost "all feeling for the essential in art," and instances an Assumption in the Pitti as a special example of Andrea's neglect of true significance.

[93] It is in the Cathedral of Pisa, and was finished by Sogliani. See Milanesi, V., p. 50, note 1.

[94] As Vasari does not mention the subject of this picture it is impossible to identify it.

an infinity of fine works without respect or consideration, causing all that he could not get into his possession to be copied; his purpose being to send them to the King of France, for whom a series of chambers, decorated in the richest manner possible, was then in course of preparation, these apartments being more especially to be adorned with ornaments of the kind just mentioned. This Giovanni Battista was very desirous that Andrea should return once more to the service of the French King, and therefore caused him to paint two pictures, in one of which the master depicted Abraham, who is on the point of sacrificing his son, and that with so much care, that he is judged never at any time to have accomplished a work of more perfect excellence. In the countenance of the Patriarch there is a beautiful expression of that lively faith and steadfast trust which render him willing to offer his only son without hesitation, and which gives him strength to slay the child with his own hand. He is in the act of turning his head towards a most beautiful angel, in the form of a boy, who appears to be commanding him to hold his hand.

I will not attempt further to describe the attitudes, the vestments, and other particulars relating to this figure of the Patriarch, since it would not be possible to do justice to the subject; I will therefore only remark that the tender and beautiful child, Isaac, wholly naked, is seen to be trembling with fear of the death prepared for him, and almost dead from terror, even without having received any blow. The neck of the boy is somewhat coloured by the effects of the sun's heat; but all those parts which during the journey of three days may be supposed to have been covered with his clothing, are represented as of the most delicate fairness. The ram, which is caught in the thorn, is exceedingly natural, and the vestments of Isaac, which are lying on the ground, seem rather to be real than merely painted. There are certain servants also, undraped figures, who are guarding an ass, which is browsing near; with a

landscape, which is so admirably depicted, that the very scene wherein the event took place could scarcely have been more beautiful, or in any way different from what is there beheld. This picture having been purchased on the death of Andrea, and when Battista Palla was made prisoner by Filippo Strozzi, was presented by the latter to the Signor Alphonso Davalos, Marchese del Vasto, who carried it to the island of Ischia, which is near Naples, and where he placed it in one of his apartments, together with other valuable paintings.[95]

In the second picture, painted, as has been related, by command of Battista Palla, with intent to send it into France, was depicted a singularly beautiful figure of Charity, with three Children. This was bought from the wife of Andrea, after his death, by the painter Domenico Conti, who ultimately sold it to Niccolò Antinori by whom it is prized as an admirable performance, which it certainly is.

About this time the illustrious Ottaviano de' Medici, remarking how greatly Andrea had improved his manner, conceived a wish to possess a picture by his hand; wherefore Andrea, who was very anxious to please that noble, to whom he felt under great obligations, and by whom men of distinguished ability were always favoured;—Andrea, I say, moved by these incitements, painted a picture of Our Lady for the illustrious Ottaviano. Seated on the earth, the Madonna is enjoying the sports of the Infant Christ who is riding on her knees, while he turns his head back to a little San Giovanni; the latter supported by his mother, St. Elizabeth, an aged woman, painted in a manner so admirable and so natural, that she appears to be alive. Every other part of this painting is in like manner executed with a power and knowledge of art, a beauty of design, and a

[95] According to Dr. H. Janitschik there are two *repliche* by Andrea himself, one in the Prado at Madrid and the other in Dresden. The latter is the more famous, and the same critic considers that it was the one executed for Francis I. The copy in Lyons is considered to be a product of Andrea's school.

careful delicacy of finish, which render it a work of indescribable excellence.

When the picture was completed, Andrea took it to Messer Ottaviano, but the city of Florence being at that time besieged and surrounded on all sides by its enemies, Ottaviano, who was occupied with other matters, excused himself, and thanking the artist in the most friendly manner, told him that he might dispose of his work as he best could, seeing that he had himself affairs of so different a kind to attend to. Andrea made no other reply than these words: "The labour was undertaken for you, and to no other shall the work belong." "Sell it," replied Messer Ottaviano, "sell it, and use the money, for I know perfectly well what I am talking about." But Andrea carried the picture back to his house, and notwithstanding all the applications that he received for it, which were many, would never part with the painting to any one. But when the siege was over, and the Medici had returned to Florence, he once more took the picture to Messer Ottaviano, who then received it most gladly, and, thanking Andrea very kindly, paid him double the price of his work.[96] This is now in the apartment of his consort Madonna Francesca, the sister of the illustrious Salviati, by whom the fine works in painting, left to her by Messer Ottaviano, are preserved and valued as they merit, and who in like manner esteems and seeks to retain as her own, the friends who were those of her husband.

Another picture by Andrea, is one almost exactly like that of the Charity above named, which he painted for Giovanni Borgherini; it represents the Madonna with the Divine Child, to whom an infant St. John, presents a globe, to signify the world, and a very beautiful head of Joseph.[97]

Now it happened that Paolo da Terra Rossa had seen the

[96] This picture, executed in 1529, is now in the Pitti Gallery.

[97] This work is possibly lost, but Milanesi, V., p. 52, note 2, claims that it was for sale in a private collection of Florence in 1852.

sketch for the picture of Abraham about to sacrifice his son, and, being a friend to all painters, he desired to possess a work by the hand of its author; he therefore requested a copy of that painting from Andrea, who complied with much willingness, and performed his part in such a manner, that the copy in its minuteness is by no means inferior to the large original. Greatly pleased with what he had obtained, Paolo inquired the price that he might pay for it, fully expecting that the picture would cost him what it was indeed worth; but Andrea demanded only such a wretched sum, that Paolo felt almost ashamed, and, shrugging his shoulders, paid him all he required. This work was afterwards sent by Paolo to Naples, and is there considered the best and most admirable picture in the place.[98]

During the siege of Florence, certain leaders of the troops had fled the city, with the funds entrusted to them for the payment of their men: wherefore Andrea was called on to paint the effigies, not of these persons only, but of certain other citizens who had departed to join the enemy, on the palace of the Signoria, and on the open Piazza. He accepted the office accordingly, and said that he would do as was required, but, that he might not obtain the appellation of Andrea degl' Impiccati, as Andrea dal Castagno had done, he set about a report that the work was to be executed by one of his disciples, called Bernardo del Buda. But a large enclosure having been prepared, he glided within this shelter himself, secretly and by night, working at those figures with his own hand, and painting them in such sort, that they seemed to be there in life and reality, rather than in the mere colours of the painter. The soldiers thus exposed were depicted in the Piazza, on the front of the old Mercatanzia namely, near the Condotta, but they were covered over with whitewash many years since, that they might no longer be seen; the portraits of the

[98] Certain critics, among whom is Dr. Janitschek, suggest that this is the *replica* in the Prado.

citizens also, which Andrea painted entirely with his own hand on the palace of the Podestà, have in like manner been destroyed.[99]

In the last years of his life, Andrea lived in much familiarity with some of those who governed in the Brotherhood of San Sebastiano, which has its abode behind the monastery of the Servites; he consequently painted for that Brotherhood a figure of San Sebastiano in half-length, which is so beautiful that it might well have been supposed likely to prove the last stroke of a pencil that he was to make.[100] The siege of Florence was now at an end, and Andrea was in constant expectation of seeing matters take a more favourable turn, although he had but little hope of success for his attempt, as regarded his re-admission to the favour of the French King, seeing that Giovanni Battista Palla had even then been taken prisoner. But when Florence was filled by the soldiers of the camp, together with the stores of food that were then brought in, there came certain Lansquenets among the other corps of the soldiery, and some of these were infected with the plague; this caused no slight alarm in the city, and the terror thus awakened was quickly followed by the pest itself, which those troops left behind them.

Now whether anxiety respecting this misfortune affected the health of Andrea, or whether it were that, after the want and privations which he had suffered during the siege, he had committed some excess in eating; certain it is, that he one day felt seriously ill, and laid himself in his bed as one whose doom was pronounced: no remedy was found for his disease, nor were many cares bestowed on him, his wife withdrawing herself from him as much as she could, being moved by her fear of the pest. Thus he died,[101] and

[99] No trace of them remains; certain studies for some of the figures are in the Uffizi. Milanesi, V., p. 54, note 1, records a payment for these figures made to "Bernardo di Girolamo *dipintore*."

[100] This work appears to be lost; there are apparently several *repliche* of it.

[101] He died January 22, 1531, N. S. Vasari has certainly represented Andrea's wife in anything but an amiable light, but Del Sarto, in the will, made

as it is said, almost without any one being aware of it; and in the same manner was interred with few ceremonies by the men of the Barefooted Brotherhood in the church of the Servites, which was near to his house, and where it was the custom to bury all who belong to that Brotherhood.[102]

The death of Andrea was a great loss to his native city and to the art he practised, seeing that up to the age of forty-two, which he had attained, he had continually proceeded from one work to another with a constant amelioration of his manner, insomuch that the longer he had lived, the more he would have benefited his art: and much better is it to proceed thus, step by step, gradually but surely acquiring power, and advancing with a foot which becomes evermore stronger and firmer, towards the mastery of all difficulties, than to attempt the compulsion of nature and genius by sudden efforts. Nor is it to be doubted that Andrea, if he had remained in Rome, when he went thither to see the works of Raffaello and Michelagnolo, and to examine the statues and ruins of that city,—had he then remained in Rome, I say, he would without doubt have greatly enriched his manner as regarded style of composition, and would eventually have attained the power of imparting a more elevated character and increased force to his figures, which are qualities that have never been perfectly acquired by any but those who have been for some time in Rome,

but a few years before (1527), speaks of her with great affection as a *diletta domina*, and makes an ample provision for her. Though still handsome she remained a widow, and, as Vasari tells us, while selling Andrea's other pictures, she retained his portrait of himself. More than thirty years after Del Sarto's death, when the young Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli was making some studies from the frescoes in the portico of the Annunziata, an old woman on her way to mass stopped and spoke to him; after some talk about his work and of the paintings, she told him that she was the model for several of the figures in them. This was Lucrezia, who had outlived the great school of Florence, and who still came to pray in the church where her husband was buried. She died in 1570.

[102] Andrea was buried under the pavement of the presbytery of the Annunziata, on the left hand side, and beneath the niche containing the statue of St. Peter (see Biadi, quoted by Milanesi).

studying and carefully labouring in presence of the marvels therein contained. Andrea del Sarto more particularly had received from nature so graceful and soft a manner in design, with a mode of colouring so life-like and easy, as well in fresco as in oil, that all were firmly persuaded of the success that must have attended him had he remained in Rome; nay, there are not wanting those who affirm that he would in that case, without doubt, have surpassed all the artists of his time.[103]

It is the opinion of some persons that Andrea was prevented from settling himself in Rome by the discouragement which the sight of the works executed there, whether in sculpture or painting, and ancient as well as modern, occasioned him, a feeling that was further increased by the numerous disciples of Raffaello and other young artists, whom he perceived to possess great power in design, and saw executing their works with a bold and firm hand which knew neither doubt nor difficulty. All this, timid as he was, deprived Andrea of courage to make trial of himself, it caused him to distrust his own powers, and he decided that for him it would be better to return to Florence, where, recalling with care and reflecting at his leisure on all that he had seen, he profited to such a degree that his works are, and ever have been, held in the highest estimation; nay, what is more, they have been more frequently copied and imitated since his death than while he lived; they are highly prized by those who possess them, and all who have been willing to sell them have received three

[103] Bocchi (*Bellezze de Firenze*) states that Michelangelo said to Raphael, and speaking of Andrea, "There is a little man in Florence, who if he were employed upon such great works as have been given to you, would make you sweat." ("*Ti farebbe sudar la fronte.*")

> "Friend, there's a certain sorry little scrub
> Goes up and down our Florence, none cares how,
> Who, were he set to plan and execute
> As you are, pricked on by your popes and kings,
> Would bring the sweat into that brow of yours."
>
> —Robert Browning, Andrea del Sarto.

times as much for the work as was paid for it to the artist, who never demanded more than a very small price.

Two reasons may be given for the circumstances just alluded to; first, the timidity of disposition, which, as we have said, was natural to Andrea; and secondly, the fact that certain of the masters in wood-work, who at that time were most commonly employed to superintend the best works in the dwellings of the citizens, would never oblige their friends by giving Andrea any work to execute, unless they knew that he was at the time in very great need of money, when he would content himself with the meanest price. Be this as it may, these things do not deprive his paintings of their value, nor prevent them from being, as they are, most admirable. Nor do they affect the estimation in which they are held; very great account is made of them, and very deservedly, seeing that Andrea was certainly one of the greatest and best masters that the world has yet seen.

There are many drawings by Andrea del Sarto in our book, which are good, but that of the picture which he painted at Poggio may be particularly remarked, seeing that it is perfectly beautiful. The subject, as will be remembered, is the Presentation to Cæsar, of Tribute, consisting of all sorts of animals brought from the East. This drawing, which is in chiaroscuro, and a truly admirable work, is perhaps the most finished design ever executed by Andrea del Sarto; for when he drew the different objects from nature which he proposed to use in his works, it was his custom for the most part to sketch them but very slightly, since these few memoranda sufficed him, although, when the object in question was executed in the painting, he completed it to the utmost perfection. His drawings, therefore, were rather used as memorials to remind him of what he had seen, than as copies, to be imitated exactly for the representations depicted in his work.

The number of Andrea del Sarto's disciples was very great, but they did not all pursue the same course of studies

under his guidance, since some remained a shorter, and others a longer time with him; those who left him doing so not by his fault, but by that of his wife, who, refusing to pay due regard to any one, had respect to nothing but her own will; she treated all, therefore, with an arrogance of demeanour by which each was in turn offended. Among these disciples, then, were Jacopo da Pontormo and Andrea Sguazzella, the latter of whom remained constant to the manner of his master. By him there is a palace in France, at a short distance from Paris namely, which is very much extolled; Solosmeo, Pier Francesco di Jacopo di Sandro, who painted three pictures in the church of Santa Spirito, and Francesco Salviati, were likewise of the number, as was Giorgio Vasari, of Arezzo, a companion of Salviati, although he did not remain long with Andrea. The Florentine, Jacopo del Conte, was also one of Andrea's disciples, and that Nannoccio, who is now in France, and in high credit with the Cardinal de Tournon, was another.

Jacopo, called Jacone, was not only the disciple but the friend of Andrea, of whose manner he was a zealous imitator. His master constantly availed himself of his assistance, even to the day of his death, as may be perceived in all his works, but more particularly in that executed for the Cavaliere Buondelmonti, on the Piazza of Santa Trinità.

The drawings of Andrea del Sarto, and other possessions relating to art which he left at his death, were inherited by Domenico Conti, who did not make any very distinguished progress in the art of painting. He is said to have been robbed one night of all the designs, cartoons, and other things which had belonged to Andrea; and this was done, as it is believed, by some who belonged to the same vocation, but who those persons were has never been discovered.

Now this Domenico was not ungrateful for the benefits which he had received from his master, and being anxious, after his death, to render him all the honours which he had merited, he prevailed on Raffaello da Monte Lupo to make

him a tolerably handsome monument in marble, which was built into the wall of the church of the Servites, with the following inscription, written by the very learned Messer Piero Vettori, who was then very young :—

ANDREÆ. SARTIO
ADMIRABILIS. INGENII. PICTORI
AC. VETERIBUS. ILLIS
OMNIUM. IUDICIO. COMPARANDO
DOMINICUS. CONTES. DISCIPULUS.
PRO. LABORIBUS. IN. SE. INSTITUENDO. SUSCEPTIS
GRATO. ANIMO. POSUIT
VIXIT. ANN. XLII.* OB. ANN. MDXXX.

But no long time after the erection of this monument, certain of the citizens who were superintendents of works in that church, acting in ignorance rather than as being the enemies of great names or honoured memories, and being displeased that the tablet had been erected without their permission, proceeded in such sort that it was removed from its position, nor has it as yet been put up in any other place. And herein it may be that fortune designed to teach us that the influences of the fates are powerful, not only over our lives, but even on our memory after death. The works and the name of Andrea shall nevertheless long continue to live, in despite of them; nay, these my writings shall, as I hope, preserve the remembrance of them through many centuries.[104] [105]

* This date does not tally with the facts.

[104] There are many portraits of Andrea by himself painted at different ages. Two of these portraits are in the Uffizi, two in the Pitti, and a fine one is said to be in the possession of the Marchese Campana.

[105] In the Tuscan or Tusco-Roman School, Andrea del Sarto comes immediately after Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael. He was a great draughtsman, the best colorist among the Tuscans, an accomplished chiaroscurist; like Raphael he was intensely assimilative, but possessed a personality which invariably made itself felt through and beyond this assimilativeness. We see the influence of Raphael and of Fra Bartolommeo in Andrea's compositions, of Dürer in a few of his figures, but above all, of Leonardo and Michelangelo, and yet in all his work, as with Raphael, the artist himself is ever present. He has been called *Andrea senza errori*, which is praise that implies a want of *élan*, and which touches the core of any analysis of his faults. We are

We conclude, then, with the opinion, that if Andrea displayed no great elevation of mind in the actions of his life,

constantly told that he is the painter who stops just short of perfect fulfilment; this, in other words, means that he lived in an age which demanded not only a complete technical equipment but also great spiritual gifts, which latter gifts, as understood in the highest sense, Andrea lacked. No earlier epoch had been so exacting, but in the first years of the sixteenth century all the problems had been resolved, and the Florentines counted among their artists two men, Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo Buonarotti, who could not only perform nearly everything that drawing and composition might compass, but who added to this technical capacity at once a subtlety and a grandeur unapproached by other Tuscans. Next after these great men, and after Raphael Sanzio, came Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto. With the former all other artistic considerations gradually gave way to the research after monumental composition and elevation. Andrea in many noteworthy instances followed Bartolommeo in the study of composition, but never, for the sake of the latter, sacrificed his drawing or color.

Like Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael, he was in assured possession of a complete technical equipment, and in studying Andrea's works we can perhaps more readily and easily estimate the technical progress made by the early sixteenth over the late fifteenth-century than even in the consideration of the achievement of the three greater masters, since with Andrea we are not dazzled by such an overmastering personality. That the artistic personality of Andrea was not a weak one, in spite of what has been said about his lack of will, may be seen in his earlier works and in the best of his later ones. As a draughtsman he was skilful beyond any of his Florentine contemporaries save Michelangelo and Leonardo; his drawings are astonishingly modern; some of those in the Louvre might almost be by a contemporaneous artist, whereas no drawing of, for instance, Botticelli, Signorelli, Mantegna, Ghirlandajo, could possibly be mistaken for one of our own day. Great emphasis has been laid by most art historians upon Andrea's color, and yet he was rather a harmonist than a colorist; Florence did not produce artists who felt color; Fra Bartolommeo after his visit to Venice brought back some of the reflection of the lagunes upon his canvases, and Andrea did still better, for he avoided Bartolommeo's black shadows, but no quality in the pictures of the old masters is so uncertain as the color quality, because time has affected and restorers have altered the original appearance of the oil-paintings and frescoes until we can be certain of nothing. It has been said that in his best work Andrea equalled the color of the Venetians; but it would be hard to sustain this statement; Del Sarto shone especially as *frescante*, and the Venetians have left us little fresco work to judge them by. His frescoes were silvery rather than rich (indeed this silvery quality is in the nature of good fresco); they were clear, harmonious, and astonishingly free from the heaviness that comes with overpainting; that is to say, in Andrea's works the artist has been peculiarly happy in securing the luminous quality which the white plaster obtains for a fresco where there has been but a single sweeping painting with no *a secco* retouches. In his *canvases* Andrea is harmonious,

and contented himself with little, yet, it is not to be denied, that he manifested considerable elevation of genius in his

and there is sometimes even a certain golden strength of tone; but on the whole, if we compare Andrea's easel pictures with the richest Venetian color, there is the same difference which exists between a note vibrating clearly and deeply and the same note slightly muffled. As a composer with color Andrea was far less skilful than in the handling of the colors themselves; indeed in a broad way it may be said that to *compose with color* never occurred to the Tuscans at all. In the *Cenacolo* of San Salvi the colors are spotted about rather arbitrarily, although in the upper part of the picture the richness and softness are admirable and approach the Venetians more nearly than does anything else in del Sarto's work. The frescoes of the Annunziata and some of his altar-pieces are pleasing and pretty in color rather than fine; at the best they may be called charming. It is doubtful whether any man who was a great natural colorist would have been content to do his most important work, the decoration of the cloister of the Scalzo, in monochrome. Yet it must be admitted that he easily led all the Tuscans in comprehension and handling of color.

As a composer by line and mass Andrea was formal at times in one or two of the frescoes of the Annunziata, academic in several of the Scalzo frescoes where he followed Fra Bartolommeo as to distribution, and was strongly influenced by Leonardo in the composition of some of his altar-pieces. One of his especial idiosyncrasies was the overloading of his figures with draperies; some of the latter were admirably studied, but on the whole not only Andrea, but his friends and scholars, Franciabigio and Pontormo, hampered, and as it were tripped up, the dramatic action of their pictures by this voluminous swathing of the actors.

Del Sarto was also a portrait-painter, leaving a whole series of remarkable portraits of himself, and yet in his altar-pieces and decorative paintings he preferred, wherever it was possible, to use but one type, that of his wife. In the treatment of this type he was very unequal; sometimes it is heavy and coarse, sometimes it is noble, as with his Madonna of the Harpies, and it is especially fascinating where Lucrezia posed for him as a St. Michael or St. George.

In his Last Supper, at San Salvi, there is so much of a certain competency and workmanlike skilfulness of handling that Andrea becomes perhaps the first Italian, and surely the first Florentine, of whom we may say that his *technique* was *clever*. This cleverness, which compels our admiration in del Sarto's more fortunate moments, at other times leads him to the *facilis descensus;* in many a great altar picture his possession of artistic riches gives us a shock of pleasure, soon followed by the sense of his misuse of this same possession; in such cases his types lack characterization, his groups are over-facile in composition, and even his famous "silvery" color looks as if chalk and water had been poured into it, so that we feel him to be for the time but a "*grand homme en robe de chambre*," wearing his art only too easily.

His life appears to have been a triple tragedy from the active hindrance of his wife's character, from the weakness of his own, and from the fact that he

art, or that he gave proof of infinite promptitude and ability in every kind of labour connected therewith ; nor will any refuse to admit, that his works form a rich ornament to every place wherein they are found ; nay, more, it is most certain that he conferred great benefits on his contemporaries in art, by the examples he left them in manner, design, and colouring; his works exhibiting fewer errors than those of any other Florentine ; seeing that Andrea, as I have said before, understood the management of light and shade most perfectly, causing the objects depicted to take their due degree of prominence, or to retire within the shadows, with infinite ability, and painting his pictures with the utmost grace and animation. He likewise taught the method of working in fresco with perfect harmony, and without much retouching *a secco*, which causes all his pictures in that manner to appear as if they were executed in a day ; wherefore this master may serve as an example to the Tuscan artists on all occasions. He is entitled to the highest praise among the most eminent of their number, and well merits to receive the palm of honour.

came either just too soon or too late at a time when the greatest rewards fell naturally to three men who possessed exactly the one high spiritual quality which was denied to Andrea. Nevertheless he was among the greatest of the Italian masters, and his special glory is, that living at a time when all Tuscany was overshadowed by Michelangelo and Raphael, and all Lombardy by Leonardo, he should have accomplished works which were permeated with the spirit of his time, which showed the influence of all the greatest men of his epoch, yet which were also strictly personal to him, Andrea del Sarto, and which were masterpieces. For there is in his pictures, even when all mental reservations are made, all adverse criticism accepted, a certain intangible seduction that gives them an enduring claim upon our artistic sympathies. All students of del Sarto feel the potency of this spell, which Paul Mantz attempted to define when he wrote "Andrea has the despotism of charm."

JACOPO PALMA AND LORENZO LOTTO, VENETIAN PAINTERS

[Born 1480? died 1528. Born 1480; died 1544?]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—FOR PALMA: A. Rosenberg, *Palma Vecchio*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. Elia Fornoni, *Il Cognome e la patria di Palma Vecchio*, *Arte e Storia*, September 5, 1888. Pasino Locatelli, *Notizie intorno a Giacomo Palma il Vecchio ed alle sue Pitture*, Bergamo, 1890. The Magazine of Art, April, 1893. Giovanni Morelli, Italian Painters, London, 1892. Bernhard Berenson, The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1894 (containing a catalogue of Palma's works).

FOR LOTTO: Hugo von Tschudi, *Lorenz Lotto in den Marken*, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. II., 1879. W. Bode, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1889, Vol. II., p. 613. Gustavo Frizzoni, *Lorenzo Lotto im Städtischen Museum zu Mailand und in der Dresdner Galerie*, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, *neue Folge*, I., p. 1. Pasino Locatelli, *I Dipinti di Lorenzo Lotto nell' Oratorio Suardi*, Bergamo, 1891. Gust. Bampo, *Il Testamento di Lorenzo Lotto*, *Archivio Veneto*, Vol. XXXIV., and other documents published in Vol. XXXII., p. 169, of the same periodical. Gustavo Frizzoni, *Giornale di Erudizione Artistica*, Vol. IV., Perugia, and *L' Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1892, pp. 16, 17. G. Annibaldi, *Nuova Rivista Misena*, July, 1892. *Libro de' Conti di Lorenzo Lotto*, 1538–56. This account-book was first noticed and in part translated, that is to say deciphered and copied, by Dr. Guido Levi; after his death the translation was completed and was published at the expense of the government in *Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, Anno I., Rome, 1894. Certain portions taken from this *Codex* were copied aud published (before the entire publication was effected) by Sig. Pietro Gianuizzi, in the *Nuova Rivista Misena* (Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6), Arcevia, 1894. Mary Logan, *Lorenzo Lotto*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1895, p. 361. Bernhard Berenson, Lorenzo Lotto, An Essay in Constructive Criticism, New York, 1895, (this monograph is the latest and most important work upon the subject, with a great number of excellent reproductions and a descriptive analysis of the painter's pictures. The notes in the accompanying life are largely taken from Mr. Berenson's monograph). Émile Michel, *Les Portraits de Lorenzo Lotto*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, third period, Vol. XV., January, 1896.

SO powerful is the effect of excellence in art, even though displayed in one sole work, or in two only, or however few these may be, that if they be perfect in their kind, artists and judges are compelled to extol them, while

writers are in like manner constrained to celebrate their praises, and to exalt the master who has produced them. And this we are ourselves about to do, in the case of the Venetian Palma,[1] who, although not particularly remarkable, or to be accounted among those of the first excellence in painting, did nevertheless complete his works with much care and exactitude. He was so zealous in his endeavours, and so patient in his endurance of labour, that his paintings, if not all good, have at least a portion of good, seeing that they present a very faithful imitation of life and natural forms.

The works of Palma are more to be commended for the

[1] Jacopo d' Antonio Palma was born about 1480, apparently at Serinalta, near Bergamo. His family name seems to have been Nigretti. He was called "Palma Vecchio" (Palma, the old, or elder), to distinguish him from his grand-nephew Palma Giovine (the young, or younger). The Venetians claimed him as a native of their town, and Vasari accepted their claim; but later criticism has decided as above in favor of his Bergamasque origin. Morelli, who states that no genuine picture by Palma has yet been found to bear signature or date, says that Jacopo was Venetian as a *painter*, and Venetianized-Bergamasque as an artist, since his pictures to the last kept something of the rude, grave character proper to his mountain province.

Modern critics have differed seriously as to Palma's chronological place, and regarding his importance as a factor in the development of Venetian art. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe that he was born before 1480, and accredit him with a very large share in the growth of the later and greater art of Venice, and in influencing Titian and Giorgione. Morelli declares that no evidence supports any such theory, and believes Palma to be a follower rather than an initiator. As to Palma's masters, Ridolfi conjectures that the painter learnt much from Titian. Possibly he worked under Bellini. Morelli believes that both Palma and Lotto studied Giorgione's works, and that Palma was influenced by Lotto rather than Lotto by Palma; other critics directly reverse this theory. The most important difference entertained regarding Palma is undoubtedly the one mentioned above as having existed between Morelli and Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, since the latter would make Jacopo a sharer with Giorgione and Titian in "modernizing and regenerating Venetian art," and a man whose influence was felt in every "city of any pretensions" between Piedmont and Trieste. A Madonna by Palma, in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale, bears a signed *cartellino* with a date, which certain critics read as MD. Morelli believes this date to be a late forgery. If the date, on the contrary, is authentic, Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle may be right in claiming for Palma seniority over Titian and Giorgione; if the date is false, Morelli is presumably right in thinking that undue influence has been accorded to Palma.

harmony and softness of their colouring, and for the patience with which they are executed, than for any great force of design, for he did certainly handle the colours with infinite grace, and with the utmost delicacy. Examples of this may be seen in many pictures and portraits which he painted for different gentlemen of Venice, but of these I do not make further mention, proposing to confine myself to the enumeration of some few pictures, and of one head, which are by all considered most admirable, nay, divine. One of these pictures our artist painted in Sant' Antonio in Venice, near the Castello ;[2] and there is another in the church of Sant' Elena, which is near the Lido, where the monks of Monte Oliveto have their monastery. In this last, which is at the high altar of the church, is an Adoration of the Magi. The number of figures in this work is very large, and among them are some heads, which are truly worthy of praise, as also are the draperies with which the figures are clothed, and which exhibit a rich and ample flow of the folds.[3]

For the altar of the Bombardieri, in the church of Santa Maria Formosa, Palma executed a figure of Santa Barbara, the size of life : two smaller figures are beside her, a San Sebastian and Sant' Antonio namely, but the Santa Barbara is one of the best figures ever produced by this painter.[4]

[2] This picture is lost. According to Boschini it represented the Marriage of the Virgin.

[3] This is one of Palma's latest works, ordered July 3, 1525. See Milanesi, V., p. 244, note 2, and is now in the Brera at Milan. Morelli believes it to have been finished by Cariani. See Italian Painters, Munich and Dresden Galleries.

[4] The saint was the patron of the gunners. This is one of the finest pictures in Venice, at the sides are Saints Anthony and Sebastian, Saints John Baptist and Dominic, above in a *lunette* is a *Pietà;* the painting is still *in situ.* The Saint Barbara has not much facial beauty, but it is hard to imagine anything more robust, but which at the same time is neither heavy nor rugged. The color is in a magnificent scale of reds as deep and vibrating as an organ tone, while mass and line are at once simple yet completely decorative. In the gallery of Dresden is a picture called the Three Sisters, painted in the so-called blonde manner of Palma, and representing three women all very much alike in features, and which, like the St. Barbara,

In the church of San Mose, which is near the Piazza San Marco, this artist also painted a picture. It represents Our Lady in the air, with San Giovanni at her feet.[5] Palma likewise painted an exceedingly beautiful historical work for the Chamber wherein the members of the Scuola,[6] or Brotherhood of San Marco, are wont to assemble, and which is situate on the Piazza of San Giovanni-e-Paolo. This he did in emulation of those which had before been produced there by Gian Bellino, Giovanni Mansuchi,* and other painters. In this work, the artist has presented a barque, wherein the body of San Marco is in course of being conveyed to Venice;[7] and here he has depicted the sea in a fearful state of tempest, with ships tossed and driven together by the fury of the winds and waves. All these are treated with great judgment, and give evidence of the most thoughtful care. The same may be said of a group of figures in the air, and of demons in various forms, who are blowing against the ships in the manner of winds. The barques, meanwhile, impelled by the oars, are labouring in various positions to break through or overpass the opposing and towering waves, but are on the very point of being submerged.

were said to have been portraits of Violante, the daughter of the artist. It does not, however, appear that Palma ever had a daughter, and the Violante, is perhaps a favorite model, perhaps merely the realization of a type peculiarly sympathetic to Palma's artistic temperament. The picture of the "Sisters" was cited by Jacopo Morelli's *Anonimo* as having been in the Casa Contarini of Venice.

* Mansuchi is corrected to Mansueti by Milanesi, V., p. 245, note 2.

[5] This work has been destroyed.

[6] Since 1815 the *Scuola* has been used as a hospital.

[7] Vasari is mistaken as to the subject of this work as well as to its author. The three saints—Mark, Nicholas, and George—are exorcising the demons who are raising the storm. Many old authors follow Vasari in attributing this picture to Palma. Zanetti gives it to Giorgione, Francesco Zanotto believes that it was damaged by the fire which took place in the Scuola di San Marco and was entirely repainted by Paris Bordone. Layard concurs in the belief of Zanotto. Mr. Berenson says, "finished by Bordone, probably begun by Giorgione," and under any circumstance the work has been subjected to so many repaintings and restorations that very little if any of the original surface is preserved.

This work, to say the truth of it at a word, is of such merit, and so beautiful, that it seems impossible to conceive that pencil and colour, however excellent the hand employing them, could express any thing more exactly like the reality, or more natural, than is this picture; the fury of the waves is exhibited in all its terrors, as are the strength and dexterity of the men engaged with them, with the movement of the waves, the lightnings and gleaming fires of heaven, the water broken by the oars, and the bending of these last as they encounter the wave or as they yield to the force of the rowers. What more? I, for my part, do not remember to have seen a more fearful picture than this is, since the whole scene is so truly rendered; the invention, the drawing, the colouring, is each so carefully attended to, and all are so effectively portrayed, that the picture appears to quiver, as it might do, if all therein represented were reality. In a word, Jacopo Palma deserves the highest commendation for this work, and well merits to be numbered among those who may be called masters of the art, and who possess the faculty of giving expression in painting to their most recondite thoughts.

Now it sometimes happens, that in the treatment of these difficult subjects, the painter will throw off the first sketch of his work, as if moved by an inspiration, so to speak, thus producing a good and bold commencement; but this promise is then found to remain unfulfilled at the completion, and the effect attributable to that first fire is seen to have disappeared. And this occurs most commonly, because in finishing his work, the artist sometimes considers the separate parts, rather than the whole of that which he has in hand, and thus suffering his spirit to become cold, he loses the force of his powers. But Jacopo on the contrary kept himself always well and firmly to his purpose, bringing his first thought and intention by due degrees to its perfection, and for this he then was and ever will be very highly extolled.

But although the works of this master are numerous,

and all merit to be held in esteem, yet the best of all and a very surprising production, is without doubt the portrait of himself, which he took with the assistance of a mirror; he is clothed in a robe of camel's hair, and there are locks of hair hanging about his head, which are so natural that better could not possibly be imagined. In this particular work the genius of Palma produced so admirable an effect, that the result was a performance of astonishing perfection and singular beauty, as all agree in affirming, this picture being presented to public view almost every year at the Festival of the Ascension. Nor is it without reason that the work is thus praised and celebrated, seeing that whether we consider the design, art, colouring, or, in short, the whole and every part, all is perfection, surpassing any work whatever that had been executed by any Venetian painter up to that time. Among other things to be observed in this portrait, is a living glance and turning of the eyes, exhibited in such a manner that Leonardo da Vinci and Michelagnolo Buonarroti could have produced nothing better. Of the grace, the dignity, and the many other excellencies to be remarked in this portrait, I think it better to remain silent, since it is not possible to say so much of its merits but that it shall still deserve more.[8]

And now, had Fate permitted that Palma should have departed this life on the completion of that work, he alone would have borne off the crown, and have retained the

[8] A canvas in the Munich Gallery, formerly called a portrait of Giorgione by himself, corresponds to the description of this picture, and was identified with it by Mündler. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and Locatelli of Bergamo, accepted this attribution. Morelli (Italian Painters, II., p. 16) gives a reproduction of the portrait and considers it to be by Cariani; he admits that the drawing and modelling suggest Palma rather than any other Venetian, but he thinks that the pose and spirit of the work, the almost defiant expression, could not have come from a man who (as was the case with Palma) made a wine-seller and a fruiterer the executors of his will. The eminent critic is very possibly right in his attribution, but the reason by which he upholds his theory is not convincing. In reference to this picture see Locatelli, *Notizie intorno a Giacomo Palma il Vecchio ed alle sue pitture*. Bergamo, 1890.

reputation of having surpassed all those whom we now celebrate as our greatest and most divine masters; but the further duration of his life giving occasion to other productions, became to him the cause of deterioration, since, not maintaining himself at the point to which he had attained, all that he had previously acquired gradually diminished, and he sank from the position which he had, on the contrary, been confidently expected even further to improve and exalt. Finally, being satisfied with the fact that one or two well-executed works partly exonerated him from the censures which others had brought on his name, Jacopo Palma died[9] at Venice, in the forty-eighth year of his age.[10]

[9] Palma died in 1528; a document containing his will was discovered and published in the *Raccolta Veneta*, *Dispensa*, II., March, 1866. See Morelli, Italian Painters, II., p. 29, note.

[10] Jacopo Palma cannot be placed beside the giants of later Venetian art, Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese; but he stands in the forefront of the second rank, and is so thoroughly a Venetian master, though Bergamasque by birth, that his pictures have been constantly, and still are, mistaken for the work of Titian. In at least one altar-piece, the Saint Barbara in Santa Maria Formosa of Venice, he has left a picture which for completeness, dignity, decorative feeling, and depth of color may be ranked with the great masterpieces of the school. The fact that his pictures have not infrequently passed under the name of Titian has probably helped to disperse them throughout the European capitals; his canvases are to be found rather out of than in Venice (where there are, however, some eight works still remaining). Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle give a long list of Palma's pictures in their History of Painting in North Italy. Morelli contests some of their attributions, and thinks there may be about sixty-four genuine Palmas in existence, among which some thirty are in Italy. Mr. Berenson (Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, pp. 109, 110), catalogues forty-eight pictures as by Palma. Critics assign three manners to Jacopo—the Bellinesque (see the Adam and Eve, Brunswick Gallery), the Giorgionesque (see the Santa Barbara in S. M. Formosa at Venice), and the so-called "blonde manner" (see the Three Sisters in the Dresden Gallery). The gallery of Vienna has four portraits of women as well as several other works by Palma; Dresden has five pictures; Rome and Berlin have each several examples, and the artist is also represented in Bergamo, Florence, Milan, Genoa, Naples, Paris, London, Cambridge, Hampton Court, Munich, and Brunswick. Morelli, Italian Painters, I., p. 295, says that not one of the four pictures ascribed to Palma in the Pitti is genuine, and that only one (out of five) in the Uffizi can be called his, namely, the "coarse-looking Judith," No. 619. This critic attributes to Palma the so-

A friend and companion of Palma was the Venetian painter Lorenzo Lotto,[11] who had imitated the manner of the Bellini for a time,[12] and had afterwards attached himself to the manner of Giorgione, as may be seen from the numerous pictures and portraits by his hand in the houses of the Venetian gentry. In the house of Andrea Odoni [13] is a portrait of the latter by Lorenzo, a very beautiful thing; and in the house of the Florentine Tommaso da Empoli there is the Birth of Christ, the time chosen being night, which is a work of admirable beauty. In this picture is particularly to be remarked, that the splendour of Christ is made to illuminate the whole in a very fine manner. The Madonna is kneeling; and in a whole-length figure, represented in the act of adoring the Infant Saviour, is the portrait of M. Marco Loredano.[14] For the Carmelite Monks, Lorenzo Lotto painted a picture of St. Nicholas appearing in the air in his episcopal robes, and attended by three Angels: at his feet are Santa Lucia and San Giovanni, above them are clouds, and beneath is a very beautiful landscape, with many small figures and animals; on one side is St. George in combat with the Dragon, at a short distance is seen the

called *Bella di Tiziano*, of the Sciarra-Colonna Gallery, Rome, a somewhat similar head in the Poldi-Pezzoli collection of Milan, and a female head in Berlin. Morelli calls the *Santa Conversazione* of Naples one of Palma's most beautiful easel pictures, and says it is worthy to rank with his picture in the Louvre.

[11] Mr. Bernhard Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto*, p. 1, says that Dr. Gustavo Bampo has proved conclusively, *Archivio Veneto*, Vol. XXXII., p. 169, that Lotto was born in Venice, and in the year 1480. His name was Lorenzo di Tommaso Lotto.

[12] Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle accept Vasari's statement that Giovanni Bellini was Lotto's master. Morelli admits the attribution largely because, says Mr. Berenson, that critic had "a vague hypothesis" that Alvise Vivarini and Cima da Conegliano had both been foremen in Bellini's atelier. Mr. Berenson will not believe that Alvise, a Muranese and a natural rival of Bellini, could have been a foreman in his shop, and with many arguments, illustrated by numerous reproductions of pictures (see his *Lorenzo Lotto*, New York, 1895), Mr. Berenson insists that Lotto was a pupil of Alvise Vivarini, not of Bellini, and that he distinctly showed the influence of Alvise.

[13] This portrait is now at Hampton Court. It is dated 1527

[14] These works are lost.

Damsel,[15] with a city, and part of the sea-coast.[16] For the chapel of Sant' Antonino, Archbishop of Florence, in the church of San Giovanni-e-Paolo, Lorenzo painted a picture of the above-named Saint, seated with two ministering priests near him, and a vast crowd of people beneath.[17]

While this artist was still young and followed partly the manner of the Bellini, partly that of Giorgione, he painted the picture of the High Altar for the church of San Domenico, at Ricanati.[18] This work is divided into six compartments : in that of the centre is Our Lady, with the Divine Child in her arms, she is presenting the Habit of his Order, by the hands of an angel, to San Domenico, who is kneeling before : here also are two Children, one of whom is sounding a lute, the other a rebeck : in the second picture are the Popes Sant' Urban and San Gregorio :[19] and in the third is St. Thomas Aquinas with another Saint, who was a Bishop of Ricanati.[20] Above these three pictures are the other three ; that of the centre, the one over the Madonna namely, representing our Saviour Christ, dead and supported by an Angel, with the Virgin Mother, who kisses the arm of the Saviour ; and Santa Maria Maddalena near her :[21] over the picture of San Gregorio is again depicted the figure of Santa Maria Maddalena, with San Vincenzio ; in the third, that above San Tommaso d' Aquino namely, are San Sigismondo and Santa Caterina of Siena. The predella is adorned with

[15] Cleodolinda, the king's daughter, saved by St. George from the dragon.

[16] This admirable altar piece is in the church of the Carmine in Venice, and is one of Lotto's finest works. Ridolfi says it was once dated 1529.

[17] This was one of Lotto's most important pictures and is still in the church ; it was painted in 1542.

[18] This altar-piece in six parts is no longer in the church of San Domenico, but has been removed to the Municipio of Recanati. It was painted in 1508. The *predella* pictures which Vasari praised are lost. Ricci, *Mem. Stor.*, II., p. 93, claims that this *predella* was finished in 1525, but it is not known on what authority. Mr. Berenson notes the fact that Lotto was one of the last Venetians who continued to paint *predelle.*

[19] Urban and Gregory are in the central panel with the Madonna.

[20] Saints Florian and Thomas Aquinas are in the left side panel.

[21] There is also a figure of St. Joseph of Arimathea.

three pictures of small figures. These are works of rare excellence, the central compartment exhibits the church of Santa Maria di Loretto, carried by Angels from Sclavonia, where it then was, to the place where it now stands ; and of the two stories which are on each side of this, the one represents San Domenico preaching, the small figures composing it being the most graceful that can be imagined : and the other Pope Honorius confirming the rule of San Domenico.

In the centre of the same church there is a fresco by this master, representing a figure of the Monk, St. Vincent ;[22] and in the church of Santa Maria de Castel Nuovo there is a picture in oil, representing the Transfiguration of Christ, and having three stories, in small figures, on the predella. These last exhibit the Saviour, first, when he is leading the apostles to Mount Tabor ; second, when he is praying in the garden ; and finally, as he ascends into heaven.[23] After the completion of these works, it chanced that Lorenzo repaired to Ancona, and that precisely at the time when Mariano[24] of Perugia had just completed the picture for the high altar, in the church of Sant' Agostino ; this was surrounded by a rich decoration, or frame work, but did not fully satisfy the citizens. Lorenzo was therefore commissioned to paint a picture, which is placed in the middle of the same church ; the subject of the work is Our Lady with the Divine Child in her lap ; over her head hover two angels, whose figures are foreshortened, and who place a crown on the head of the Virgin.[25]

Finally, when Lorenzo had become quite old, and had almost entirely lost his voice, he left Ancona, but not before he had executed other works, though not of any great impor-

[22] It was painted in 1512 ; it is still in the church, and, says Mr. Berenson, *op. cit.*, p. 135, shows the influence of the *Disputà* of Raphael in the Vatican.

[23] It is of 1512 says Mr. Berenson, and has been taken from the church to the Municipio of Recanati. The *predella* has disappeared.

[24] Mariano di Ser Eusterio of Perugia, a pupil of Perugino.

[25] Milanesi, V., p. 252, note, quotes Ricci as affirming that in his time this picture was in the church of Santa Maria di Piazza. Mr. Berenson catalogues the Assumption of the Virgin as in the gallery of Ancona.

tance, in that city;[26] he then departed to Our Lady of Loretto, where he had already painted a picture in oil,[27] which is in a chapel on the right of the entrance into the church, and there resolved to finish his life in the service of the Madonna, making his habitation in that holy house. Thereupon he commenced the execution of historical representations in figures of one braccio high, or less, around the choir, and above the seats of the officiating priests. In one of these he depicted the Birth of Christ; in another, the adoration of the Magi; the Presentation to Simeon occupies a third;[28] and following this, is the Saviour Baptized by John in the Jordan. The Woman taken in Adultery, and led before Christ, is also among these pictures, which are executed in a very graceful manner. Two other stories which Lorenzo likewise painted in this place exhibit a large number of figures; one of these represents David offering Sacrifice;[29] the other exhibits the Archangel Michael in Combat with Lucifer, whom he has driven out of heaven.

No long time had elapsed after the completion of these stories, before Lorenzo died, as he had lived, in the manner of an upright man and good Christian, resigning his soul to the hands of God his Maker.[30] [31] The last years of his life

[26] Mr. Berenson thinks that the "splendid altar-piece" in the Communal Gallery of Ancona was painted in 1546, and says that the Assumption (in the same gallery) inscribed 1550 has been in great part brutally repainted.

[27] A St. Christopher.

[28] Mr. Berenson calls this picture "perhaps the most modern" ever painted by an old Italian master, and compares it to the work of modern impressionists.

[29] This, says Mr. Berenson, is a sacrifice of Melchisedek.

[30] Lotto died in 1556. Milanesi suggested 1544, but with a query.

[31] The final note to this life of Lotto is the only one in these volumes which the editors have based wholly upon the appreciations of other writers. In this case the annotators, not having visited either Recanati, Trescorre, or Loreto, have adopted the appreciations of Mr. Bernhard Berenson, whose work upon Lotto is the latest and most complete study of the painter's works The annotators will only emphasize the beauty of Lotto's portraits (highly praised and carefully analyzed by Mr. Berenson), and remark the singular dissonance which exists between the movements of Lotto's figures and their architectonic setting.

Mr. Berenson says that up to 1509 the works of Lotto may be distinctly

were passed in the utmost peace and tranquillity of mind, nay, what is more, he was by them, as is to be hoped and

classed as in his first manner. He believes him to be the pupil of Alvise Vivarini and to have remained a quattrocentist as to composition, coloring, handling, and chiaroscuro for some time after Giorgione, Titian, and Palma had adopted the new manner. As Lorenzo was an exceedingly susceptible artist, he felt the influence of many different masters; though Mr. Berenson refuses to agree with Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's statement that Lotto was but a "mush of concessions," he admits an "apparent jumble of other painters" with whom Lotto had affinities. The author dates the beginning of Lorenzo's Bergamasque period from 1524, and thinks that for nearly ten years he scarcely came in contact with Venetian painters of his own rank and that he thereby gained much in independence and personality. It was during this period that Lotto was most in touch with his time, and his works of this epoch will therefore appeal most to lovers of classic Italian painting. Lotto executed remarkable designs for *intarsiatura* in the choir stalls of S. Maria Maggiore at Bergamo. Mr. Berenson (*op. cit.*, p. 204) says that if Lorenzo had made engravings from such designs and scattered them about, instead of putting them all in the church of a single provincial town, he "would have come down to us as the acknowledged rival of Dürer." Lotto had thirty of his intarsia cartoons returned to him, and valued them, making a special bequest of them in his will. He was an admirable portrait painter, having left three splendid examples in the Brera as well as many in other galleries; these portraits are astonishingly modern in their presentation of the spiritual side of their models, in their introspective quality, in their suggestiveness. These restless, nervous, self-tormented people of Lotto seem a whole age removed from the well-nourished, serene, and nobly tranquil men and women of Titian and the Venetian painters. Vernon Lee in a recent article in Cosmopolis, on Lombard Villas, says apropos of this tendency of Lotto: "Even more noticeable in this highly-strung, over-excitable artist is the romantic, imaginative light in which he sees actions and men . . . touching upon the element of hidden pathos or trouble in all his sitters."

Mr. Berenson in his long and careful consideration of Lotto gives him high praise for many of his qualities, comparing him to Dürer for depth, to Correggio for sensitiveness; he emphasizes the intense modernness of his handling and color in some of his works, but most of all, and quite naturally, he dwells upon the psychological interest which animated the artist, interest which is "never of a purely scientific kind" but "is above all humane." He finds that the personality of Lotto was so modern that "his spirit is more like our own than is, perhaps, that of any other Italian painter." M. Eugène Müntz in his *Fin de la Renaissance* says of Lotto that he knows "no more striking example of the metamorphosis of a primitive master into a champion of the golden age of art." Vernon Lee in the article cited above felicitously interprets the disquieting charm of Lotto's personality which is so alluring to the modern critic: "Although a Venetian in the essential painting quality, and in a certain voluptuous solemnity, Lorenzo Lotto stands out quite separate from the two great exchangeable earlier Venetians, Giorgione and Titian,

believed, enabled to obtain the riches of the life eternal, which might possibly not have been secured to him had he remained to the close of his days exclusively wrapt up in the concerns of the world, which rest too heavily on him who makes them his sole thought, since they do not permit the soul to rise towards the true wealth of the future life, and that which is to constitute our highest felicity and blessedness.

and their retinue. Separate, different, shining out in virtue of . . . a more lively composition, a more vehement and momentary gesture, a more pathetic, episodic fancy, as of Tasso's poignant romance compared with the idyllic heroism of Spenser's, . . . steeped in sentiment and suggestion, he leaves in the mind with his brilliancy and a sort of diagonal vivacity, a sense of discomfort mingled with delight."

FRA SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO OF VENICE, PAINTER

[Born 1485; died 1547.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Biagi, *Memorie . . . intorno alla vita ed alle opere di F. Sebastiano Luciani*, Venice, 1826. G. Campori, *Sebastiano del Piombo e Ferrante Gonzaga, Atti e Memorie della Deputazione per gli studj di Storia Patria delle provincie di Parma e Modena*, Modena, 1864. J. P. Richter, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler*. A. Venturi, *La Farnesina*, Rome, 1891. R. Förster, *Farnesina-Studien*, Rostock, 1880. Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi il Magnifico*, Rome, 1881. J. Meyer, in the *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1886. G. Milanesi, *Les Correspondants de Michel-Ange*, No. 1, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, Paris, 1890. Friedrich Propping, *Die Künstlerische Laufbahn des Sebastiano del Piombo bis zum Tode Raffael's*, Leipsic, 1892.

THE first profession of Sebastiano,[1] as many affirm, was not painting, but music; for, besides that he was a singer, he delighted to perform on various instruments, but more especially on the lute, that being an instrument which permits the player to take all the parts himself, without requiring any one to accompany him. His accomplishments in this matter rendered him for a time exceedingly acceptable to the nobles of Venice, with whom, as a man of ability, he ever lived in confidential intercourse. The wish to devote himself to painting having been conceived by Sebastiano while he was still young, he acquired the first principles of his art from Giovan-Bellini,[2]

[1] Sebastiano Luciani, called Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, was born in 1485. His birthplace is unknown, but he signed his pictures "Venetus." The date of his birth has been calculated from Vasari's statement that he died at the age of sixty-two. The date of his death is known with certainty to be 1547.

[2] It is not often in the history of Italian art that one finds an artist who came under the direct influence of so many of its greatest masters as did Sebastian, whose work is closely associated with that of Titian, Giorgione, Raphael, and Michelangelo.

then an old man ;[3] but when Giorgione da Castel Franco brought into Venice the newer manner, with its superior harmony and increased vividness of colouring, Sebastiano left Bellini to place himself with Giorgione.[4]

With the last-named artist, Sebastiano remained so long that he acquired his manner to a considerable degree. He executed numerous portraits from the life in Venice, which were reputed to be excellent likenesses ; among others, that of the Frenchman Verdelotto, an accomplished musician, who was then chapel-master (*Maestro di Capella*) in San Marco, and in the same picture Sebastiano painted the portrait of the singer Uberto, the associate of Verdelotto. This work was brought to Florence by Verdelotto, when the latter repaired to that city as Maestro di Capella at San Giovanni. It is now in the possession of the sculptor, Francesco Sangallo.[5] About the same time, Sebastiano painted a picture in the Church of San Giovanni Crisostomo at Venice, with figures which have so much of the manner of Giorgione, that they have sometimes been taken by persons who have not much acquaintance with matters of art, to be by the hand of Giorgione himself. The work is a very beautiful one, and has a manner of colouring which secures great relief to the picture.[6]

[3] There was in the collection of the late Sir Austen Henry Layard at Venice, a *Pietà*, the earliest known work of Sebastiano ; the *Cartellino* bears the inscription, "BASTIAN LUCIANI FUIT DISCIPULUS JOHANNES BELLINUS." It originally had a forged *Cartellino*, with the name of Cima da Conegliano, which was removed by the restorer Molteni of Milan. This picture is painted in the manner of Cima, who from about 1500 to 1504 probably occupied the position of instructor in Bellini's studio.

[4] There is nothing except the character of Luciani's work to prove that he actually studied with Giorgione. Although Vasari had but scanty knowledge of Sebastian's early years, he writes of the later ones with so much fulness of detail that critics have surmised that the author obtained his information from Sebastian himself ; they were both in Rome at the same time and were friends of Michelangelo.

[5] This work is lost ; the Uberto mentioned above is Ubretto in the Milanesi edition ; Milanesi refers, however, in a note to the fact that other editors have changed the word to Uberto.

[6] This picture in the church of S. Giovanni Crisostomo at Venice is a fine

By this work the reputation of the artist was much extended, and Agostino Chigi, a very rich merchant of Siena, who had frequent communications with Venice, hearing him much extolled in Rome, made efforts to attract him thither, the abilities of Sebastiano in playing on the lute being equally pleasing to Agostino with his acquirements as a painter; and the latter was furthermore incited by the agreeable conversation of Sebastiano, which was also much commended. No great labour was required to lead Sebastiano to Rome; nay, knowing how helpful and favourable that city, as the common country of all distinguished men, had ever proved herself towards such, he went thither more than willingly. Having arrived in Rome accordingly, Agostino set him instantly to work, and the first thing which he did was to paint the small arches above the Loggia, which looks into the garden of Agostino's palace in the Trastevere, where the whole of the vaulting had been decorated by Baldassare of Siena. In these arches, Sebastiano painted many poesies,[7] or fanciful subjects, in the manner which he had brought with him from Venice, and which were very different from the works usually produced in Rome by the distinguished painters of that time.

After this work, Raffaello having executed a story of Galatea in that place, Agostino desired that Sebastiano should paint a Polyphemus in fresco beside it;[8] and here,

example of a *Santa Conversazione* (Saints Catherine, Agnes, John the Baptist, Liberalis, and the Magdalen surrounding the titular saint of the church); it recalls the work of Giorgione, and it has even been thought that it was begun by him although it has been much injured by restorations. In the church of San Bartolommeo in Venice are full-length figures of Saints Bartolommeo and Sebastiano, Louis and Sinibaldo. These are of about the same date as the picture in St. John Chrysostom.

[7] With Vasari, fanciful subjects are *Poesie*, historical subjects, *Storie*. These *poesie*, probably painted in 1512, are taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses, and represent: the Fall of Icarus, Juno on her Car, the Death of Phäethon, Pluto and Proserpine, Boreas and Orytheia, Pandora and Admetus. See Milanesi, V., p. 567, note 1, †.

[8] According to Bottari the Polyphemus perished, and was replaced by another, the work of an unknown painter. Sebastian probably removed to Rome in 1511 or 1512.

impelled by a spirit of rivalry with Baldassare of Siena, and afterwards with Raphael, he did his very utmost to distinguish himself. He likewise executed certain works in oil, and of these, seeing that he had obtained from Giorgione a certain mode of colouring which was tolerably soft, much account was made at Rome. While Sebastiano was thus producing these pictures in Rome, Raffaello da Urbino had risen into great credit as a painter, and his friends and adherents maintained that his works were more strictly in accordance with the rules of art than those of Michelagnolo, affirming that they were graceful in colouring, of beautiful invention, admirable in expression, and of characteristic design; while those of Michelagnolo, it was averred, had none of these qualities with the exception of the design. For these reasons, Raphael was judged by those who thus opined, to be fully equal, if not superior, to Michelagnolo in painting generally, and was considered by the same to be decidedly superior to him as regarded colouring in particular. These ideas, promulgated by many artists, were very widely diffused, and found favour among those who preferred the grace of Raphael to the profundity of Michelagnolo, and who showed themselves on many occasions to be more favourable to Raphael in their judgment, than to Buonarroti.[9]

[9] In the rivalry between Raphael and Michelangelo, Sebastian proves himself by his own letters to have played a far worse part than did the principals. Michelangelo when asked to act as expert regarding the price of Raphael's Sibyls, adjudged to the artist twice the sum which Chigi's accountant would have paid him, and Raphael "thanked God" that he had been born in Michelangelo's time. Sebastian, on the contrary, in a letter to Buonarroti written July 2, 1518, speaks of Raphael, to use the words of M. Eug. Müntz, "as a plagiarist, a dauber and a thief." He, Sebastian, first expresses his fear lest Raphael should see his work before commencing his own. There was nothing so very bad in this, for although Raphael when he borrowed from the art-work of others did it with perfect frankness, it was yet not unnatural that Sebastian, who had entered the lists as Sanzio's adversary, should dislike to have his works seen too soon by this terrible rival who improved upon everything that he saw. Next, Sebastian says of Raphael's St. Michael and the Holy Family sent to Francis I., that they looked like shining iron, or as if they had been smoked on one side; here again we can only say of the Vene-

But not so Sebastiano, he was not among the followers of these extreme opinions; possessing an exquisite judgment, he fully and exactly appreciated the value of both these masters;[10] the mind of Buonarroti was thereby disposed towards him, and being greatly pleased with the grace and beauty of his colouring, he took him into his protection,

tian that he told the truth; the St. Michael to-day looks like painted tin, and Sebastian has proved that its gaudy colors and black shadows do not come from any chemical action or deterioration by the effect of time. But what was altogether mean and detestable in Sebastian was his assertion that Raphael stole "at least three ducats a day" from the pope. This evil speech passes far beyond even his most envious criticism of Raphael's art; indeed, we must not too much blame Sebastian's hard words regarding the frescoes, nor his saying that his own picture was, he hoped, "better drawn than the tapestries which have come from Flanders," nor yet may we wholly condemn the words of Leonardo the saddler that the Farnesina ceiling just uncovered was "*chosa vituperata a un gran maestro.*" Leonardo and Sebastian saw the great Raphael permitting his pupils to complete things in a manner very unworthy of their master and if the Venetian was an envious critic he was not always an unjust one. His envy and his real cleverness in intrigue did not bring him success, and he bitterly complains that he was given cellars to paint while Raphael's pupils had the gilded halls above. Even Michelangelo's active backing did not in the end procure for Sebastian the inheritance of Raphael's work. Worst of all (if we may believe Dolce) were the words that the unlucky Venetian heard from a great compatriot. Titian was walking with him in the *Stanze* of Raphael, where Sebastian had done certain restoration to the frescoes damaged during the sack of Rome. Pointing to some of Sebastian's work, Titian asked who was the audacious and ignorant person who had disfigured Raphael's paintings, and at these words Sebastian became really "*di piombo*," livid as lead.

[10] In a letter to Michelangelo, Sebastian's few words regarding the death of Raphael are at least free from any hypocritical expression of personal grief. He says: "The news will, I believe, have grieved you very much, may God pardon him." The words *dispiaciuto assai* may be taken with some latitude and may mean much or little, as the writer and reader chose. Morelli believes that Sebastian painted the portrait of Raphael when the latter was twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, and while the two artists were still friendly, and that the picture is the one lately in the Scarpa collection of La Motta, called a portrait of Tebaldeo by Raphael. The Scarpa portrait has quite recently been sold and will eventually go to Buda-Pesth. Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, *L' Archivio Storico*, 1895, Second Series, I., pp. 409–418, thinks the portrait was painted about 1513, and admits its great resemblance to the features of Raphael. Morelli also believes that the St. John in the Louvre attributed to Raphael is by Sebastian, and from a sketch by Michelangelo; he points out the resemblance to Buonarroti's youths of the Sistina, and this likeness is indeed striking, especially in the movement.

thinking also that by assisting Sebastiano in design, he might succeed, without doing anything himself, in confounding those who held the above-described opinions, while he, under the shadow of a third person, might appear as judge between the two, Raphael or Sebastiano, deciding which of them was the better.[11]

Things being at this point, and the works of Sebastiano having been exalted to great, or rather, infinite reputation by the praises lavished on them by Michelagnolo, to say nothing of the fact that they were in themselves beautiful and commendable, there was a certain Messer, I know not who, from Viterbo, who stood in high favour with the Pope, and who commissioned Sebastiano to paint a Dead Christ, with Our Lady weeping over him, for a certain chapel which he had caused to be erected in the Church of San Francesco at Viterbo; but although the work was finished with infinite care and zeal by Sebastiano, who executed a twilight Landscape therein, yet the invention was Michelagnolo's and the cartoon was prepared by his hand.[12] The picture was esteemed a truly beautiful one by all who beheld it, and acquired a great increase of reputation for Sebastiano, confirming the opinions of those by whom he was favoured; then the Florentine merchant, Pier Francesco Borgherini, having obtained possession of a chapel in San Pietro-in-Montorio, on the right of the entrance into that church, commissioned Sebastiano to paint the same; induced thereto by the favour shown to Sebastiano by Michelagnolo, and thinking moreover that the latter would himself execute the drawing of the whole work, which, as the matter happened, was in fact the truth.

[11] One of the stories which grew from the unfriendliness of Sebastian and Raphael and the rivalry of the latter with Michelangelo, is to the effect that once when Raphael with his retinue of pupils passed up the stairway of the Vatican, Sebastian (or Buonarroti—the story is told impartially of one and the other) said to the master, "You go by like the Bargello with his posse," and that Raphael rejoined, "And you go alone like the executioner."

[12] The *Pietà* for the church of San Francesco at Viterbo was finished in February, 1525. The picture is now in the Museo Municipale at Viterbo.

Having commenced the paintings, accordingly, Sebastiano set hand to the work with such perfect good will, and completed it with so much care and study, that it is indeed a most beautiful picture; and as, from the small design prepared by Michelagnolo, Sebastiano made several others of larger size for his own convenience, one among them, very beautifully executed by his hand, is now to be found in our book, Sebastiano was convinced that he had discovered the true method of painting in oil on the wall, he therefore covered the plaster of the chapel in San Pietro-in-Montorio with a preparation for the intonaco, which appeared to him to be properly suited for that purpose, and on this he executed the part whereon is the representation of Christ scourged at the Column, entirely in oil.[13] Nor will I conceal, that many believe Michelagnolo to have made, not the small design for this work only, but even the outline of that figure of Christ scourged at the Column, seeing that there is a great difference in the degree of excellence to be perceived in the figure here in question, and that of all the others. But had Sebastiano never executed any work excepting this one he would have well deserved eternal fame for this alone; the heads are admirably well done, many of the hands and feet are most beautiful, and although his manner was a little hard, an effect of the great pains which he took in the copying of the objects depicted, he may nevertheless be justly enumerated among the good and praiseworthy artists of his time.

Above this story Sebastiano painted two Prophets in fresco, with a Transfiguration in the vaulted ceiling, and there are besides two Saints standing one on each side of the lowermost picture, San Piero, and San Francesco namely, which are figures of great force and animation.[14] It is true

[13] The Flagellation is still in the church, but has suffered much deterioration. It was the last of the series to be executed, and was finished in April, 1525; there is a *replica* by Sebastian now in the Museo Civico of Viterbo, and there is a *Pietà* by del Piombo in the same museum. See Ettore Gentile, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II., pp. 409–414.

[14] These works are also *in situ*; the Prophets were finished in 1516.

that Sebastiano laboured for six years over this small undertaking, but when works are well executed, one ought not to inquire whether they have been finished more or less expeditiously, although there is no doubt that he who executes his works rapidly, and yet completes them well, does merit to be the more highly extolled; still, if, when the work does not give satisfaction, the painter seeks to excuse himself by alleging the rapidity of the execution, this allegation is so far from presenting an excuse for the defect, that it is, on the contrary, a further accusation against himself, unless indeed he has been compelled to such haste. But when this work of Sebastiano's was uncovered, it was found to be a good one; wherefore, although he had toiled wearily over it, yet, as he had done well, the evil tongues were silenced, and there were few who presumed to censure him.

When, some time afterwards, Raphael painted for the Cardinal de' Medici that picture which was to be sent into France, but which after the death of the master was placed on the high altar of San Pietro in Montorio, the Transfiguration namely, Sebastiano executed one at the same time and of the same size, almost as in rivalry of Raphael, the subject being a Resurrection of Lazarus, after he had been in the grave four days. This also was painted with the most earnest care, under the direction, and in some parts with the design, of Michelagnolo. These pictures being finished, were publicly displayed together in the Hall of the Consistory; they were both very highly extolled, and, although the works of Raphael had no equal for their extraordinary grace and beauty, the labours of Sebastiano, nevertheless, found honourable acknowledgment and were commended by all. One of these pictures[15] was sent by

[15] The Resurrection of Lazarus is now one of the most famous possessions of the National Gallery of London. It was finished in 1519, in the ever-memorable competition (for it practically was such) in which the Venetian painter, backed by one of the two great rulers of the Roman art world, Michelangelo, entered the lists against Raphael, lists from which Sebastian retired with dignity, and even, according to some critics, with the honor of having taken

the Cardinal de' Medici[16] to his episcopal residence at Narbonne in France, the other was placed in the Chancery, where it remained until it had received the frame prepared for it by Giovanni Barile,[17] when it was taken to San Pietro-in-Montorio. Having performed good service by this work in the estimation of the Cardinal, Sebastiano was much favoured and very liberally rewarded during the pontificate of the same.

No long time afterwards, and when Raphael having died, the first place in painting was universally accorded to Sebastiano, in consequence of the favour which the latter received from Michelagnolo, Giulio Romano, Giovan Francesco of Florence, Perino del Vaga, Polidoro Maturino, Baldassare of Siena, and the rest were compelled to give way; wherefore Agostino Chigi, who had caused his chapel and tomb in Santa Maria del Popolo to be constructed under the direction of Raphael, agreed with Sebastiano that the latter should execute the whole of the painting,[18] and he having erected his enclosure accordingly, the chapel re-

part in a drawn battle. There is this, however, to be remarked, that although both pictures were the result of collaboration, and although two artists working together invariably neutralize each other's powers to a certain extent, the collaboration was here rather to the advantage of Sebastian than of Raphael. Sebastian and Michelangelo each contributed that in which he excelled his collaborator, whereas Raphael was handicapped by co-workers who were in every way his inferiors. There are two drawings by Michelangelo, now in the British Museum, which are probably preparatory studies for the figure of Lazarus. Michelangelo was in Florence when the picture was executed, so that he could hardly have superintended the work, as Vasari says. Sebastian writes to Michelangelo: "I have endeavored to keep it back as long as possible, that Raphael might not see it before it is finished. . . . I believe I shall not bring discredit upon you." Opinions in regard to this work are very diverse. It is probably the typical example of that combination of Venetian treatment and color feeling with the Michelangelesque feeling for form and movement which gave Sebastian such immediate and great notoriety in Rome.

[16] Afterward Clement VII.

[17] The wood-carver mentioned in the Life of Raphael.

[18] Vasari says in the Life of Raphael that after the death of the latter Chigi gave the commission for the paintings to Sebastian, but the death of Chigi followed in turn, and almost immediately.

mained thus concealed without ever being seen by any one, until the year 1554, at which time Luigi the son of Agostino, resolved that although his father had not been permitted to see that work finished, yet he would himself behold the completion thereof. He, therefore, commissioned Francesco Salviati to paint the Altar-piece,[19] and the chapel, when the last-mentioned artist brought the work in a short time to that perfection which would never have been given to it by the tardiness and irresolution of Sebastiano, who, so far as can be ascertained, had done but little thereto, although he had received from the liberality of Agostino and his heirs a much larger sum than would have been due to him even had he completed the whole. But this was what Sebastiano did not do, whether because he had become weary of the labours of art, or because he was too busily occupied with the interests and pleasures of the world.[20] In the same manner he treated Messer Filippo of Siena,[21] Clerk of the Chamber, for whom he commenced a story in oil on the wall, above the high altar of the church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome, and never finished it at all, insomuch that the monks, when they had fallen quite into despair respecting it, were compelled to remove the scaffolding, which they found to encumber their church and impede the services, having no further resource but that of taking patience, and permitting the part to remain covered with a cloth, as it continued to be during all the remainder of Sebastiano's life, but when he was dead, and the monks uncovered the picture so that what he had done could be seen, the portion that had been accomplished was acknowledged to be an exceedingly beautiful work.[22] There are

[19] It is doubtful if Salviati did the altar-piece.

[20] The altar-piece is still in the church of S. Maria del Popolo. God the Father and other colossal figures on the wall are painted in oil.

[21] Filippo Sergardi.

[22] Sebastian's wall-paintings in the choir were taken down when Bernini built the marble monument of the Chigi family; fragments are said to be in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle, and to represent the Nativity and the Visitation; see Crowe and Cavalcaselle's History

many female heads for example, in that painting (which shows Our Lady visiting Sant' Elizabetta) that are singularly pleasing and display the most attractive grace, but here also there is evidence that this man performed all that he did with infinite difficulty and most laborious pains-taking, and that no part of his work was effected with that facility with which Nature and study will sometimes reward those who delight in their vocation and are perpetually occupied therewith.[23]

A proof of what is here affirmed may be found in this same church of the Pace, and in the chapel of Agostino Chigi, where Raphael had painted the Sybils and the Prophets; for Sebastiano, in the hope of surpassing Raphael, undertook to paint something of his own in the niches beneath these Sybils and Prophets, proposing to execute his work on the stone, and covering it to that end with peperigno, the interstices being filled in with stucco under the action of fire, but he spent so much time in consideration of the matter that he left the work after all in a state of preparation only, seeing that when it had been ten years in that condition Sebastiano died.

It is true that there was no difficulty in obtaining some portrait taken from the life from Sebastiano: this he did with tolerable ease and promptitude, but with anything appertaining to stories or other figures, it was altogether the reverse. Nay, to tell the truth, portrait painting was the proper vocation of Sebastiano; and of this we have some evidence in the likeness of Marcantonio Colonna, which is so well done that it seems to be alive, as well as in those of Ferdinando, Marquis of Pescara, and of the Signora Vit-

of Painting in North Italy, II., p. 338. A second picture of the Visitation, on panel, is in the Louvre, and is dated 1521.

[23] "And this man," remarks a compatriot of our author, "this man, with his slowness of intellect, his idle and self-indulgent disposition, this man was the lance with which Michelangelo intended to lift the Urbinese from his saddle!"—*Foster's Notes.* It is well to add to this that it was principally upon Sebastian's own testimony that we infer ill-feeling toward Raphael upon Michelangelo's part. Buonarroti himself was silent.

toria Colonna,[24] which are most beautiful. This master likewise took the portrait of Pope Adrian VI.[25] when he first arrived in Rome as he did also that of the Cardinal Hinchfort.[26] This prelate afterwards desired that Sebastiano should paint a chapel for him in the church of Santa Maria dell' Anima in Rome, but the artist put him off "from to-day to to-morrow," in such a manner that the Cardinal at length caused his chapel to be painted by the Flemish painter Michele,*[27] his compatriot, who there depicted stories in fresco from the life of Santa Barbara, imitating our Italian manner exceedingly well. He painted the portrait of the above-named Cardinal also in this work.

But to return to Sebastiano: he also painted the likeness of the Signor Federigo da Bozzolo,[28] with that of some captain, I know not whom, wearing armour: this last is in the possession of Giulio de' Nobili in Florence;[29] and in the house of Luca Torrigiani, there is a Woman in the Roman habit, by the hand of this artist.[30] Giovanni Battista Cavalcanti has also a head painted by him, but this is not entirely finished;[31] Sebastiano furthermore executed a picture of Our Lady, covering the Divine Child with a veil,[32] an admirable work, now in the Guardaroba of the

* Read Michele the Fleming (*Fiamingo*).

[24] The portrait of Vittoria Colonna is in Naples in the Palazzo Sant' Angelo. See Milanesi V., p. 573, citing D. Campanari.

[25] There is a portrait of Adrian VI. in the Museum at Naples, and another is in Lord Taunton's collection at London. See Dr. Richter's notes to Vasari, pp. 237, 238.

[26] The Pope's *datario*, Cardinal Enckenvoirt, was probably the Nincofort of Vasari, and Hinchfort of Mrs. Foster's translation.

[27] According to Bottari, Michael Cocceis or Coxis of Mechlin.

[28] This work is lost, or, according to tradition, says Dr. Richter, it is the excellent portrait by Sebastian now at Lansdowne House, London. The critic, however, notes the fact that books and a globe figure in the picture, whereas Bozzolo was a soldier.

[29] Milanesi, V., p. 574, note 2, thinks it may be the portrait now in the Uffizi, and believed to represent Giovan Battista Savello.

[30] This female portrait is not identified. Milanesi suggests that it may be the so-called Fornarina of the Uffizi.

[31] This portrait not being described cannot be identified.

[32] This Madonna, painted on slate, is in the Naples Museum.

Cardinal Farnese. Our artist also sketched, but did not finish, a very fine picture of San Michele, standing over the prostrate form of the Devil, a figure of colossal proportions, and this was intended for the King of France, who had previously received a picture by the hand of the same artist.[33]

When Giulio Cardinal de' Medici was created supreme Pontiff, and took the name of Clement VII. he caused Sebastiano to understand, by means of the Bishop of Vasona, that the time was come when his Holiness could be of service to him, a circumstance of which he (Sebastiano) should not fail to have proof when the occasion might present itself. Sebastiano meanwhile, being excellent at the taking of portraits as we have said, painted many from the life while he was entertaining the hope thus awakened, and among others was that of Pope Clement himself, who did not then wear his beard ;[34] of this portrait Sebastiano made a replica, the original being for the Bishop of Vasona : the repetition, which was of larger size, a half-length figure seated, is now in the possession of Sebastiano's family. He likewise portrayed the Florentine Anton Francesco degli Albizzi, who was then in Rome for certain of his affairs ; a work of such merit that it does not seem to be painted but living : wherefore Anton Francesco, esteeming it as he might have done some precious jewel, despatched it to his home in Florence. The head and hands of this portrait are indeed a sort of miracle, to say nothing of the admirable manner in which the artist has depicted the velvets, linings, satins, and other portions of the picture.[35] Sebastiano did certainly surpass all others in the painting of portraits ; in that branch of art no one has ever equalled the delicacy and excellence of his work, and all Florence was amazed at this portrait of Anton Francesco.

[33] This work is lost. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle remark that all of the works in which Sebastian imitated Raphael remained unfinished.

[34] Sebastian del Piombo painted the portrait of the Pope (beardless) before 1527. In 1531 he painted him twice and in 1532 once.

[35] Painted in 1525. Possibly it is the picture No. 409 in the Pitti Gallery. See Milanesi, V., p. 575, note 3.

About the same time our artist painted the likeness of Messer Pietro Aretino,[36] and this also he executed in such a manner, that, not to mention the resemblance, which is nevertheless most exact, the picture is wonderful, if it were only for the difference which the painter has made so clearly obvious in the various kinds of blacks, not less than five or six, to be seen therein ; velvet, satin, silk of Mantua, damask and cloth namely all black, with a very black beard, finely distinguished on this sable clothing, and all so well executed that life itself could scarcely be more life-like. In the hand this portrait holds a branch of laurel with a scroll, whereon there is written the name of Clement VII. ; two masks lie before him, one beautiful to intimate Virtue, the other hideous to represent Vice. This picture was presented by Messer Pietro to his native city, and the people of Arezzo have placed it in the public hall of their council, thus doing honour to the memory of their ingenious fellow-citizen, and receiving no less from his fame. At a later period Sebastiano painted the likeness of Andrea Doria,[37] which was also an admirable work, with the head of the Florentine Baccio Valori ; a painting of beauty and excellence of which it would not be possible adequately to describe.

Now it happened about this time, that Mariano Fetti Frate del Piombo died, and Sebastiano, remembering the promises made to him by the above-named Bishop of Vasona, master of the household to his Holiness, made interest to obtain the office of the seal, thus vacated ; wherefore, although that office was in like manner sought by Giovanni da Udine, who had also been in the service of the Pope *in minoribus*, and was still serving him, yet the Pontiff, moved by the prayers of the Bishop, and also by his

[36] It is now in *Sala del Consiglio* of the Palazzo Communale of Arezzo. Sebastian visited Venice in 1527, and may have painted Aretino at that time. Upon the painting is the inscription : PETRUS ARETINUS ACERRIMUS VIRTUTUM DEMONSTRATOR ! See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, II., p. 345.

[37] It is now in the Doria Gallery, Rome, and is one of Sebastian's finest portraits.

conviction that the abilities of Sebastiano merited that favour, bestowed the desired office on Sebastiano, but commanded that he should pay three hundred scudi per annum [38] out of the same, as a pension to Giovanni da Udine.

Thereupon Sebastiano assumed the habit of a monk: when it soon appeared as if he felt his very soul changed thereby, for perceiving that he had now the means of satisfying his desires without stroke of pencil, he gave himself up to his repose, and indemnified himself, by the enjoyments which his income supplied, for all the painful nights and laborious days which he had previously spent; or if on any occasion he felt himself obliged to execute a painting, he went to his work with such manifest reluctance that he might have been supposed to be rather going to his death. And from this we may perceive how poorly we are conducted by our own wisdom and by human prudence, for how frequently, nay, rather most commonly, do we covet that which we should least seek and do least require: supposing, as the Tuscan proverb goes, that we are about to cross ourselves with the finger, we plunge it into the eye instead. It is the common belief, for example, that by rewards and honours the minds of mortals are stimulated to increased exertion in the study of those arts which they perceive to be well remunerated, and that, on the contrary, the perception that they who have the power to reward exertion, neglect and disregard those who distinguish themselves thereby, has the effect of causing such men to become discouraged and to abandon their vocation. Thinking thus, both ancients and moderns have ever censured, with all the force of expression which they can find, such princes as

[38] The office of Piombo paid to the incumbent 800 scudi annually. It was the duty of the person appointed to the Piombo to attach the leaden seal (*bulla*) to the official documents. Sebastian received the office in 1531. Benvenuto Cellini was also a candidate for the office. See Symond's edition of Cellini's Autobiography, p. 124. After Sebastiano had received this office he always added an F. for *Frate* before his signature. He said to Michelangelo in a letter, "you would laugh if you saw me, I'm the finest friar-loon in Rome."

have failed to protect talents of all kinds, and have withheld from those who labour conscientiously the honours and rewards which are so justly their due. But although this rule does, for the most part, hold good, we have nevertheless occasion sometimes to remark that the liberality of just and magnanimous princes has, in certain instances, produced a contrary effect, seeing that there are many who are more disposed to contribute to the advantage and utility of the world, while in depressed and moderate condition, than when exalted to greatness and possessing an abundance of all things. And here we have a case in point. The magnificence and liberality of Clement VII., by too largely rewarding Sebastiano, who had previously served him as an excellent painter, was a temptation to that master, from the careful and pains-taking artist that he had been, to become most idle and negligent; and whereas while the struggle between himself and Raphael da Urbino continued, and Sebastiano lived in a poor condition, he was labouring continually, he had no sooner obtained what sufficed to his wants, than he passed his time in a totally different manner.[39]

But be this as it may, and leaving to the judgment of prudent princes to consider how, when, towards whom, in what manner, by what rule, and in what measure, they are to exercise their liberality in the case of artists and other men of distinction, I return to Sebastiano, and say that he executed with much delay (for he had then been made Frate del Piombo), a commission which he had received from the Patriarch of Aquileia; the subject of the work being Our Saviour Christ, a half-length figure painted on stone.[40] This picture was much commended, more particularly for the head and hands, parts in which Sebastiano

[39] Sebastian wrote to Aretino that it was more profitable to angle for "*piombi*" at Rome than for eels at Venice.

[40] Cardinal Domenico Grimani was patriarch of Aquileia. The picture is now in the Prado at Madrid; there is an old copy, which some claim as an original, in the Dresden Gallery.

was indeed truly excellent. No long time after this, the niece of the Pope, who afterwards became and still is Queen of France,[41] arrived in Rome, when Fra Sebastiano began to paint her portrait, but never having completed the same, the unfinished work has remained in the Guardaroba of the Pontiff.

About the same time, the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici fell in love with the Signora Giulia Gonzaga, who then dwelt at Fondi; the said Cardinal therefore sent Sebastiano with four swift horses to that place, for the purpose of taking her portrait, and in about a month, the artist completed the likeness, when, what with the celestial beauties of that lady, and what with the able hand of so accomplished a master, the picture proved to be a most divine one.[42] Having brought his work to Rome, he received a rich reward from the Cardinal, who acknowledged, as was the case, that this portrait greatly surpassed all that Sebastiano had ever before accomplished. The work was afterwards presented to Francis, king of France, who placed it in his palace of Fontainebleau.

This painter having discovered a new method of painting on stone, very greatly pleased the people thereby, since it appeared that by this means pictures might be rendered eternal, seeing that neither fire nor the worm could injure them. Thereupon Sebastiano began to execute various works in this manner, surrounding them with ornaments made of other stones, varied in colour, and which being polished formed a most beautiful decoration to the same.

[41] Catherine de' Medici, wife of King Henry II. Milanesi has no knowledge of the whereabouts of this picture.

[42] The real portrait of Giulia Gonzaga has been claimed by two different collections. In the Staedel Gallery at Frankfort is a panel thought to represent the Signora Giulia. In the National Gallery, London, the picture which is known as "An Italian Lady as St. Agatha," is also considered a portrait of Giulia. Milanesi, V., p. 579, note 1, says there is a third portrait at Longford Castle, in England, and believes that it is probably the original picture. Sebastian wrote to Michelangelo in June, 1531, that he was about to go to Fondi, and by July 15th he had already returned to Rome.

It is true that when they were finished, these paintings, both on account of their own weight and that of their decorations, were incapable of being moved, but with the utmost pains and difficulty. Yet, many persons, attracted by the novelty of the work and the beauty of the art, gave earnest-money to the painter, to the end that he might execute such for them ; but Sebastiano, who found more pleasure in talking of these pictures than in making them, put off and delayed all these things from day to day. He did, nevertheless, complete a Dead Christ,[43] with the Madonna in stone, for Don Ferrante Gonzaga, by whom it was sent into Spain. This work had a frame or ornament, also in stone ; it was considered to be an exceedingly beautiful one, and Sebastiano was paid five hundred scudi for the same by Messer Niccolò da Cortona, agent in Rome for the Cardinal of Mantua.

There was one thing wherein Sebastiano merited considerable praise, for whereas Domenico, his compatriot, who was the first to attempt painting in oil on stone, could never find the means of preventing the works which he executed in that manner from becoming black and looking prematurely faded, nor could Andrea dal Castagno, Antonio, and Piero del Pollaiuolo, or any other of the masters who followed him succeed better in that quest, yet Sebastiano discovered the desired method effectually,[44] and the figure of Christ scourged at the column, which he executed for the Church of San Pietro-in-Montorio, has never changed as yet, but retains its freshness and animation unimpaired as on the first day. Sebastiano used very great and many precautions in his preparations for these works, forming his intonaco with mastic and pitch from the pine, all mixed carefully over the fire, and laid on the wall, where it was

[43] Now in the Escurial, Spain; it was ordered in 1533, but by Sebastian's dilatoriness, and from disputes regarding the price, the picture was not finished till 1539. Milanesi, V., p. 579, note 2.

[44] It is believed that Sebastian used the oil extracted from acorns in painting on stone. See G. Amati, *Lettere Romane di Momo*, Rome, 1872.

laid smoothly with a trowel, and covered with a surface of plaster, brought glowing from the fire. By this process his works have been enabled to resist the effects of damp and escape all evil consequences from humidity, insomuch that they preserve their colours admirably well and without suffering any change. With the same mixture, Sebastiano worked on peperigno marbles of different kinds, vari-coloured stones, porphyries, and other very hard surfaces, paintings which may without doubt be expected to endure for a vast period of time. He has besides hereby taught us how we may paint on silver, copper, brass, and other metals.

This man had so much pleasure in gossipping and gabbling that he would waste whole days therein, or if at length he proceeded to his work, it was easy to perceive that he was subjecting himself to infinite suffering, and this may perhaps have been one cause of an opinion which he held, which was that his works could not be adequately paid for, whatever the price he received for them. For the Cardinal of Aragona * Sebastiano painted a picture, wherein he depicted an exceedingly beautiful figure of Sant' Agatha, naked, and subjected to the frightful tortures of her martyrdom. This picture, which is indeed a most admirable work, is now in the Guardaroba of the Signor Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino,[45] and is in no respect inferior to the many other beautiful paintings by the hand of Raffaello da Urbino, of Titian, and of other masters, which are in the same place. Sebastiano likewise executed a portrait from life of the Signor Piero Gonzaga ; this was painted in oil on stone, and was a most beautiful and admirable likeness, but the artist laboured over it for three entire years before he finished it.[46]

* Milanesi corrects Aragona to Rangoni, saying that the picture was undoubtedly painted for the latter cardinal.

[45] It is dated 1520 and is now in the Pitti Gallery. There is a study for it in the Uffizi.

[46] This work is lost. It is probable that we should read Ferrante Gonzaga, not Piero.

Now in the time of Pope Clement, and when Michelagnolo was in Florence, employed about the new Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Giuliano Bugiardini was commissioned to execute a painting for Baccio Valori, the work to represent the likeness of the Pope, with that of Baccio himself, while in another he was to depict his Holiness, with the Archbishop of Capua,[47] this last picture being to be painted for Messer Ottaviano de' Medici. Michelagnolo therefore had recourse to Fra Sebastiano, whom he requested to send him from Rome the head of the Pontiff painted in oil ; this Sebastiano executed, and sent him accordingly, having succeeded in his work to perfection. When Giuliano had used the head for that purpose therefore, and had finished his pictures, Michelagnolo, who was a gossip of the said Messer Ottaviano, made the latter a present thereof ; and certainly, among the many portraits painted by Sebastiano, this is one of the most beautiful. It is besides an exceedingly faithful resemblance, as may be seen in the house of the heirs of Messer Ottaviano, where it now is.[48] This master likewise painted the portrait of Pope Paul, who had been Cardinal Farnese, so soon as he was raised to the Pontificate, and commenced that of the Duke of Castro, son of his Holiness, but left it unfinished, as he did so many of the other works of which he had made a beginning.[49]

Fra Sebastiano had a tolerably good house which he had built for himself near the Porta del Popolo at Rome, and there he lived in the utmost content, without troubling himself further about painting or working in any way. "It is a great fatigue," he would often remark, "to expose one's self in age to the necessity of restraining those ardours which artists are induced to excite in themselves by the desire for honour, by emulation, and by the love of

[47] Fra Niccolò Schomberg.

[48] Sebastian painted a portrait of Clement upon canvas to be sent to Michelangelo, and finished it by July 22, 1531 ; but he sold it to the "Duca d'Albania," and eventually writes to Buonarroti, April 5, 1532, that a second head is ready to send.

[49] The portraits of Paul III. and of Castro cannot be found.

gain, although this might be endured in youth;" and he would add that it was quite as prudent to seek the quiet of life as to consume one's days in labour and discomfort, in the hope of leaving a name after one's death, seeing that the labours thus endured, with the works which were the result of them, would alike come to an end at some time, sooner or later, be they what they might. And as he would say these things, so also would he practise and put them in execution to the utmost of his power, seeking the best wines and the most inviting meats that could be found for his table, and ever thinking more of the enjoyments of life than of art.

A friend to all distinguished men, Fra Sebastiano frequently invited Molza and Messer Gandolfo [50] to sup with him, when he would make them right good cheer. The Florentine, Messer Francesco Berni, was also his very intimate friend, and wrote a poem to him; whereunto Sebastiano replied by another, which was not without merit, for, being a man of varied acquirements, he knew, among other things, how to write Tuscan verse in a jesting humour.[51] Being reproached by certain persons, who declared it to be a shameful thing that he would no longer work, because he had sufficient to live on, Fra Sebastiano replied in this manner: "Nay, since I have enough to support me, I will not work; there are geniuses now in the world who do more in two months than I used to do in two years; I think, indeed, that if I live much longer I shall find that every thing has been painted which it is possible to paint, and since these good people are doing so much, it is upon the whole well that there is one who is content to do nothing, to the end that they may have all the more to do." With these and other pleasantries, Fra Sebastiano was ever ready to reply, always facetious and amusing as he was; a better or more agreeable companion than himself, of a

[50] Molza the poet and Gandolfo Porrini.

[51] The poem was really written by Michelangelo for Sebastian. See Guasti, *Rime di Michelangelo*, Florence, 1863.

truth, there never lived. Sebastiano, as we have said, was much beloved by Michelagnolo,[52] but it is also true that when that part of the chapel whereon is executed the Last Judgment of Buonarroti had to be painted, there did arise some anger between them; Sebastiano having persuaded the Pope to make Michelagnolo execute the work in oil, while the latter would do it in no other manner than fresco. But Michelagnolo saying neither yes nor no, the wall was prepared after the fashion of Fra Sebastiano, and Buonarroti suffered it to remain thus for several months, without doing anything to the work. At length, and when pressed on the subject, he declared that he would only do it in fresco, "oil-painting being an art only fit for women, or idle and leisurely people like Fra Bastiano." The preparations made by Sebastiano were therefore removed, and everything being made ready for the painting in fresco, Michelagnolo then set hand to the work, but he never forgot the affront which it appeared to him that he had received from Fra Sebastiano, and maintained a feeling of hatred against him almost to the Frate's death.[53]

Being finally brought to a state wherein he would neither work nor do any other thing but just attend to his office as

[52] The correspondence between Sebastian and Michelangelo is in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence. There are thirty-two letters by Sebastian dating from January 28, 1520, to August 23, 1533, and there are six letters from Michelangelo. See *Les Correspondants de Michel-Ange*, Paris, 1890.

[53] Symonds does not consider this story very probable, although Buonarroti may have wished to try experiments on several surfaces. The same writer suggests that Michelangelo may at one time have had thoughts of intrusting a considerable portion of the fresco to Sebastiano, and later encountered the same difficulties in collaboration which induced him to paint the Sistine vaulting in solitude. Sebastian may or may not have been to blame for his quarrel with Michelangelo. The Venetian fell far below the Tuscan in nobility of mind, also the time had long gone by when Sebastian the painter needed Michelangelo as patron; but the friendship of the latter was honorable to any artist, and Sebastian seems to have worked so hard in the personal service of Buonarroti that we may credit him with some real affection for the sculptor, and if we remember that Sebastian sometimes changed from a friend to a foe (as with Raphael), we must not forget, too, that Michelangelo was suspicious and frequently flew into furious passions with his best friends.

Frate del Piombo, and give himself good cheer, Fra Sebastiano fell sick of a most violent fever, and being of very full habit, the disease attained to such a height that in a very few days he resigned his soul to God. Having made a will, he commanded that his remains should be carried to the tomb without any ceremony of priests or friars, nor would he have any expenses incurred for lights, but ordered that the amount which would have been thus expended should be distributed to the poor, for the love of God: and so was it done. Fra Sebastiano was buried in the Church of the Popolo, in the month of June of the year 1547.[54]

The death of this master could scarcely be considered a great loss to Art, since from the moment that he had assumed the habit of a monk, he might very justly have been accounted among the departed. It is true that his pleasant qualities in conversation did cause many of his friends to lament his death, and indeed, many artists also. Young men, in some considerable number, resorted to Sebastiano at divers times, for the purpose of studying their art, but they rarely made any great profit, since from his example, they could learn little beside the art of good living.[55] But from this remark we must except Tommaso Laurati, a

[54] A portrait in the National Gallery, London, is claimed as being that of Sebastian, it is painted upon the same canvas with Ippolito de' Medici. Mr. Berenson, however, does not catalogue it in his list of genuine works of del Piombo.

[55] Sebastian del Piombo was one of those rare artists, who having the capacity for artistic greatness, have not character enough to develop that capacity. Anyone who before he was twenty-one years old could paint the pictures that he left behind him in Venice, was an artist equal to great achievement had his talent been as sustained as it was remarkable. Vasari cannot forgive him for having slighted this talent, and finally renounced it; and on the whole Vasari's criticism would seem to be acute and just. Still we must make some allowances in remembering first that Sebastian was a Venetian setting himself up in direct rivalry, not only with Raphael, an Urbinate, but with Raphael's Tuscan pupils; furthermore, that Sebastian was the *protégé* of Michelangelo, the man whose friendship Vasari liked to think (though in later years) belonged to him, Giorgio, more than to any other artist. All of these things may have somewhat biassed Vasari, who nevertheless gives a good measure of praise to the Venetian. Sebastian, who remained great even as an eclectic, imitated first Cima, then Giorgione, then

Sicilian, who, besides many other works, has executed in Bologna an exceedingly graceful picture of Venus, embracing and kissing her son Cupid. This work is in the house of Messer Francesco Bolognetti. He has likewise painted the portrait of the Signor Bernardino Savelli, which is highly commended ; with other pictures, of which there is no need to make further mention.

Raphael, the latter so successfully that the violin-player of the Sciarra Palace, the Fornarina of the Uffizi, are still by some critics given to Raphael, though they are now more generally attributed to del Piombo. Lastly, Sebastian used the manner of Michelangelo as a deliberately chosen weapon. The Resurrection of Lazarus is Sebastian's most famous picture, but his portraits, in which he directly followed nature and was less influenced by the personality of any other artist, are, after all, his best works ; even in his portraits Raphael affected him strongly, but not so strongly as to interfere with characterization and sincerity. Upon the whole Sebastian del Piombo remains to us as one of the most interesting recorded examples of an artist endeavoring to unite the qualities of two wholly different and equally great schools, those of Venice and Florence.'

PAOLO CALIARI, CALLED VERONESE[1]

[Born 1528; died 1588.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—C. Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie dell' Arte*, Venice, 1648. Boschini, *Le Minere della Pittura*, Venice, and also *La Carta del navegar pittoresco*, Venice, 1660. Dal Pozzo, *Le vite de' Pittori, degli Scultori ed Architetti Veronesi*, Verona, 1718. Zanetti, *Delle Pittura Veneziana e delle opere pubbliche de' Veneziani Maestri*, Venice, 1771. T. Vaterio, *Les Paul Véronèse de Dresde, L'Artiste*, III., Sixth Series, p. 155, Paris, 1858. P. Mantz, *Un nouveau Véronèse au Musée du Louvre, Jupiter foudroyant les Vices, Gazette des Beaux Arts*, First Series, II., p. 31, Paris, 1859. Henry F. Holt, The Marriage at Cana, by Paolo Veronese, London, 1867. P. Mantz, *Tintoret et Véronèse, L'Artiste*, 1869, IV., p. 340, Paris, 1869. Aleardi, *Sullo Ingegno di Paolo Caliari*, Venice, 1872. T. Gautier, *Les noces de Cana de Paul Véronèse*, Paris, *circa* 1872. G. de Scolari, *Del celebre quadro di P. Caliari la Famiglio di Dario, della nobil Casa Pisani di Venezia*, etc., Verona, 1875. M. Pratesi, *I grandi pittori veneti del cinquecento, Paolo Veronese*, in *Nuova Antologia*, XXV., *fasc.*, VI. Hubert Janitschek, *Paolo Caliari gen. Veronese*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. C. Yriarte, *La Vie d'un Patricien de Venise au, XVI^e siècle*, Paris. C. Blanc, *Les Fresques de Véronèse au château de Masère près de Trévise, Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Second Series, XVII., p. 385, Paris, 1878. Armand Baschet, *Paul Véronèse devant le Saint-Office*, Orleans, 1880. *Galleria dei Pittori veneziani dal* 1200 *al* 1800, Venice, 1887. Pietro Caliari, *Paolo Veronese sua vita e sue opere, Studi Storico-Estetici*, Rome, 1888. *Relazione ed atti riguardanti il monumento a Paolo Caliari, pubblicati a cura del comitato esecutivo dello stesso*, Verona, 1888. C. Yriarte, *Paul Véronèse*, Paris, 1888, an important monograph. Bernardo Morsolin, *Un putto di Paolo Veronese* in *Arte e Storia*, 1889, No. 28. P. Lefort, *Les*

[1] Vasari's meagre notices of Veronese, intercalated in the lives of Michele San Michele and Battista Franco, are even more inadequate than his mention of Carpaccio, since the volume of Veronese's work to be described was far greater than Carpaccio's, and Paolo's place in the history of art is quite as important as that of the earlier painter. Although this meagreness of statement is more inadequate, it is, however, less regrettable, since we know much of Paolo from other sources, while Carpaccio as a man is in some respects an unsolved mystery. It is evident that Vasari, besides having incomplete data in the case of Veronese, thought it hardly consonant with the dignity of his own work as a history to give long biographies of men who were still alive at the time that he published his *Vite*.

peintures de Véronèse à Madrid, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Third Series, III., p. 470, Paris, 1890. C. Yriarte, *Paul Véronèse au palais ducal de Venise* in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Third Series, V., p. 5, 1891. Bernhard Berenson, The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1894.

THE painter Paulino is also a Veronese, he is now in good repute at Venice; and this artist also, although in like manner not more than thirty years old, has performed many commendable works. Born in Verona,[2] Paulino was the son of a carver in stone,[3] or as they say in that country, a stone-cutter, and having acquired the principles of painting from the Veronese, Giovanni Caroto,[4] he painted in fresco [5] the Hall of the Paymaster Portesco at Tiene [6] in the Vicentino, in company with the above-named Battista, with whom he subsequently executed numerous works at the Soranza, all of which show good design, a fine judgment, and a beautiful manner.[7]

[2] Paolo Caliari, called Paolo Veronese, was born in Verona in 1528 (not in 1532 as has been asserted); the documents in the *Archivio Notarile* of Venice, examined by M. Charles Yriarte, show that Paolo was sixty years old at the time of his death in 1588.

[3] Paolo's father, Gabriele Caliari, was a sculptor, his uncle, Antonio Badile, was a painter, his brother Benedetto, and his sons Paolo, Gabriele, and Carletto, were also painters.

[4] Antonio Badile was his master, and Mr. Berenson, in his Venetian Painters, states that Paolo was also "strongly influenced by Domenico Brusasorci." At first Paolo was apprenticed as sculptor, and M. Charles Yriarte accredits to him statues of a Venus and Adonis in the Villa Maser, and certain *stucchi*, but later his father perhaps put him under the care of Giovanni Caroto, although there is no certain proof that the latter ever was his master. Parmigianino is said to have been one of his favorites as an example, and this influence of the Parmese master is to be seen in some of Paolo's violent foreshortenings; it is also claimed that as a youth he copied numbers of Dürer's engravings.

[5] Paolo's first works were in San Fermo of Verona (the picture, a Madonna with Saints, is now in the Pinacoteca) and in San Bernardino; see E. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 642. Then he went to Mantua, where, says M. Müntz, he learned from Andrea Mantegna his science of ordering and his "astonishing perspective effects." No frescoes by Paolo now remain in Mantua.

[6] His mythological scenes at Tiene were painted for the counts of Porti, in collaboration with Zelotti, and the latter's work cannot be separated, as to its authorship says M. Yriarte, from that of Paolo, so well does it harmonize.

[7] In 1551 he painted (together with Zelotti) in the Palazzo Emo at Fanzolo

At Masiera, near Asolo in the territory of Treviso, Paulino painted a very beautiful house of the Signor Daniello Barbaro, Patriarch elect of Aquileia;[8] and in Vienna he

a whole series of mythological subjects, introducing portraits freely into his decorations.

The Palace of the Soranzi has been demolished, but the Venetian Edition of our author informs us that the frescoes of Paolo Veronese and his school, which formed the most valuable part of its decorations, have been preserved from destruction. The German translator of Vasari adds that they were presented to the Church of San Liberale by Filippo Balbi, by whose care it was, as the Venetian edition of our author assures us, that they were saved from destruction.—Mrs. Foster's Notes.

[8] This villa, variously called Villa Maser, Villa Barbaro, Villa Manin, Villa Giacomelli, is in the mountains near Asolo, at a distance of a few hours' drive from Castelfranco in the march of Friuli. Daniel Barbaro was himself a patrician artist of Venice, who has left important ceiling painting in the Ducal Palace. Three of the most famous men of his time, Palladio the architect, Alesandro Vittoria the sculptor, and Paolo Veronese, collaborated in the building and decoration of the villa. It is of great interest and importance as showing what in the middle of the sixteenth century, a Venetian noble, himself an artist and with the greatest artists at his disposition, considered a satisfactory summer palace. First of all is to be noted the sobriety of the general lines of the architecture, the inexpensiveness of the material; there is no rich marble, hardly any gilding, patron and craftsmen alike have been contented with stone, stucco, and fresco. The plan is simple enough; there are four chambers and a central hall, shaped like a Greek cross, serving at once as corridor and rooms, all frescoed by Veronese. In this work there is also that simplicity which comes with largeness of motive, composition, and movement. The most important fresco is an octagon in the centre of the main hall; the subject has been called the Deities of Olympus or the Representation of the Planetary System (M. Müntz was the first to point out this distinction of subject). There are also two large *lunettes* with half-nude figures, while on other sides of the vaulting, women in contemporaneous costume, lean from simulated balconies, and at the level of the floor pages and ladies seem to peer in through the openings which they make by pulling the painted tapestry curtains aside. All this is immensely interesting as showing Veronese's idea of a complete decorative scheme fully carried out. There is great spontaneity and force, the compositions and movements are admirably varied, a few of them are even noble, those of the Vice and Virtue, the Vulcan and the Jupiter, for example. Seen in black and white, in the reproductions that have been made of them for various publications, some of these frescoes are not unworthy of the painter of the *Cena* and the Coronation of Venice. M. Yriarte hopes for some documentary evidence to sustain his theory that they were painted after Veronese's visit to Rome, a theory which their amplitude of style and the frequent introduction of the nude would seem to justify. But we have here for

painted a large picture on cloth for the refectory of San Nazzaro,[9] a Monastery of the Black Friars; the subject chosen being the Supper of Our Saviour Christ in the house of Simon the Leper, when Mary Magdalene threw herself at the feet of Our Lord. In this work there are many por-

the first time to reason somewhat before Veronese's work; in all his other great pictures we are instantly delighted by the noble, cheerful, transparent color. Here either by frequent overpaintings or by chemical action of the pigment the color is utterly changed, is coarse, and in some cases even repellent; we find crude Paris-green against cold purple and skies of a brutal overpainted blue, smalt in some places, purple in others. All this must be due to late-comers. Veronese when he handled the fresco surely came nearer to Correggio, or at all events to Tiepolo, but for all that the overpainting produces a most disastrous effect, and it is this which makes Veronese's robustness seem coarse, his lightness of motive seems cheap and trivial, so that we have to deliberately separate the largeness of conception from the present material execution and to admit that although Veronese can be seen here as inventor and composer, Veronese as *frescante* is hardly represented at all. On the other hand, no amount of unintelligent restoration or overpainting can account for the triviality of the detail and the bad taste and cheapness of the general scheme. There is an abundance of painted tricks, and no consideration for the dignity of the material prevents the perpetration of those practical jokes in fresco which are still played on the walls of Italian villas, notably in the North and in the lake district. There are *trompe l'œil* of all kinds; in the dining-hall a lady in blue brocade, her duenna, and a couple of satin pages look down from a painted gallery; on the broad balustrade before them is the usual Veronese menagerie, a parrot, a monkey, and a little white-and-liver-colored spaniel. At the end of the long vista of rooms you are startled by the figure of a huntsman or a lady, raising a curtain or pushing back a door, showing a glimpse of sky or a flight of steps; beyond there are painted children peeping through simulated openings, there are stacks of painted spears and halberds in the corners, specious gold bronze statues and green bronze friezes, spurious marbles, deceptive effects of perspective, painted clap-trap of all kinds. Indeed at times it is difficult to believe that one is in the pleasure-house of a Venetian patrician decorated by one of the greatest masters of a golden era. MM. Müntz and Yriarte have each of them devoted special chapters to these frescoes of the Villa Maser; the former in his *Fin de la Renaissance*, the latter in his *Vie d'un Patricien de Venise*, the scene of which is laid at this villa, while Charles Blanc has also written of them in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* for 1878.

[9] Milanesi, VI., p. 370, note 3, says that the picture was sold to the Spinola family of Genoa, then to the Durazzi, and is now in the picture-gallery of Turin. Another Feast at the House of Simon, from the church of St. Sebastian, is in the Brera, and still another, from the church of the Servites, is in the Louvre.

traits from the life among the numerous figures which it comprises, with buildings, &c., in perspective, which are admirable ; there are two Dogs under the table, moreover, which are so beautifully executed that they appear to be alive ; and in the distance are certain figures of lame and halt, which are also excellently well done.

In the Hall of the Council of Ten [10] in Venice, within an oval, which is larger than any of the others forming the divisions of the ceiling and occupies the centre thereof, as being the principal picture, is another work by Paulino ; a figure of Jupiter driving forth the Vices,[11] which is meant

[10] Many paintings in the Hall of the Council of Ten, and there ascribed to Veronese, are considered to be really by Zelotti. Indeed the work of Veronese is so vast that much collaboration must have been required, and upon many canvases attributed to the master, it would be very difficult to separate the work of Paolo from that of inferior men who were yet admirable craftsmen. This difficulty obtains to so great a degree that much of Veronese's so-called original work may be viewed with suspicion.

[11] This oval ceiling-canvas is now in the Louvre. It is replaced in the Hall of the Council of Ten by a copy from the hand of a French artist. See C. Yriarte, *Paul Veronese au Palais Ducal de Venise*, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1891, Third Period, V., p. 14. The following passage, referring to Paolo, is from Vasari's Life of Battista Franco :

" About the same time there was a painter in Venice called Bazzacco,* who was a creature of the Casa Grimani, and by especial favour, this artist, after he had been many years in Rome, received commission to paint the ceiling of the large Hall of the *Cavi de Dieci ;* but conscious that he could not complete the work himself, and would have need of aid, Bazzacco took for his companions Paolo da Verona, and Battista Zelotti,† dividing among them and himself nine pictures in oil, which were to be executed for that place, four compartments of an oval form in the angles, that is to say, four oblong squares, and a larger oval in the centre. This last, together with three of the squares, Bazzacco gave to Paolo Veronese, who represented Jove launching his thunderbolts at the Vices, with other figures therein ; and two of the smaller ovals, with one square, Bazzacco kept for himself ; the two remaining ovals he gave to Battista. In one of these compartments is Neptune, the God of the Sea, the others have each two figures, symbolical of the grandeur and repose then enjoyed by Venice.

" Now all these artists acquitted themselves very well in that work, but the

* Milanesi says Brazacco ; he painted in the Hall of the Council of Ten, but not in the Hall of the *Cai* (or *Capi*).

† In Vasari's original text it is Battista Farinato, but Bottari substituted Zelotti as cognomen, the same being quoted from Ridolfi.

to signify that this supreme and absolute ruler expels evil, and also punishes wicked and vicious men. The same artist painted the ceiling in the church of San Sebastiano,[12] a work of extraordinary merit, as he did also the picture for the High Altar, with smaller pictures which surround and form the framework of the same. Paulino likewise painted

best of them was Paolo Veronese; for which cause he received a commission from the Signori to paint the ceiling of a chamber which is beside the above-mentioned Hall. Here he depicted a figure of San Marco floating in the air; in the lowermost part is Venice surrounded by Faith, Hope, and Charity; the painting is in oil, and Paolo had for his assistant therein the above-named Battista Zelotti. But though a beautiful picture, this work is not equal to that executed by Paolo in the Hall first mentioned. In the Umiltà * he then executed a painting entirely alone; on a large oval compartment of the ceiling namely, where he painted an Assumption of Our Lady, with other figures, a very lightsome, pleasing, and well-considered performance."

[12] Upon the ceilings and walls of this church of St. Sebastian Paolo first showed to Venice that another great master had come to her, and in St. Sebastian he lies buried. The whole church is a gallery of his pictures; his compatriot, Bernardo Torlioni, prior of the convent, called him to Venice about the first of December, 1555; but at first Paolo painted only in the sacristy (Coronation of the Virgin, a confused and theatrical composition, surrounded by separate panels containing the Four Evangelists). He then painted in the nave of the church several great ceilings, the subjects being taken from the history of Esther. In these ceilings he has used with successful audacity the violent perspective of figures rising *en échelon*, and seen always in three-quarter view from the side. It is said that these works have been much retouched, and it is probably to the retouching that they owe a certain hotness that has come with glazes, and an undue strength of reds and greens in the caisson nearest the door, the Esther before Ahasuerus. Retouched or not, the centre ceiling glows like a carbuncle, as if jewels had been crushed into the pigment. Here on the very morrow of his arrival, before the influence of Titian could have added much to his equipment, we find Veronese fully declared, with his throned figures in severest perspective, his dogs and horses, his brocades and pseudo-Romans. In the choir are two large and important works (Mr. Berenson catalogues the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian with a question-mark as to its authorship), the second subject shows a scene from the lives of Saints Marcus and Marcellinus; it is full of movement and life, but is not exactly dramatic, since Veronese, as usual, cares little about telling a story, but cares much about making his types, his draperies, and his architecture vital. His works in St. Sebastian had an instant success, and he was proclaimed a master from that moment.

* The church has been destroyed.

the doors which close the organ, and all these are truly praiseworthy productions.[13]

In the hall of the grand council,[14] Paulino executed a very large picture, the subject Frederick Barbarossa presenting himself to the Pope, with a large number of figures in varied habiliments and all of great beauty, insomuch that it does worthily represent the court of a Pontiff and an Emperor as well as the Venetian senate. There are many gentlemen and senators of the republic[15] represented from the life in this picture, which is such, at a word, for grandeur, excellence of design, variety of attitude and beauty, that it is deservedly extolled by all who see it.

After having completed this work Paulino executed the decorations of other chambers, used for the service of the above-named Council of Ten,[16] painting the ceilings in oil with figures which are very finely foreshortened and admirably beautiful.[17] He painted in fresco for a certain mer-

[13] The Purification is painted upon the outer side, the Pool of Bethesda upon the inner.

[14] In 1562 the Senate ordered decorations for the Hall of the Great Council *del Maggior Consiglio*, of Orazio Vecelli (Titian's son), Tintoretto, and Veronese. The latter painted Barbarossa kissing the foot of the Pope, and allegorical subjects representing Time, Faith, Patience, and Concord; these works all perished in the fire of December 20, 1577. From 1577 to 1588, the year of his death, the painter worked almost constantly for the Ducal Palace; among the paintings which he executed for the latter are the Adoration of the Magi (in the Library); the Europa (*Sala dell' Anticollegio*); Sebastian Venier, the conqueror of Lepanto, taken into the presence of the Saviour by Saint Mark, Saint Justina, Faith and Venice (*Sala del Collegio*); Venice Enthroned between Justice and Peace, and eleven pictures in color with six in monochrome (ceiling of the *Sala del Collegio*). In the Hall of the Grand Council there are by Veronese, besides the famous Apotheosis of Venice (in the ceiling), the Taking of Smyrna (ceiling); the Defence of Scutari (ceiling); and on the wall the Return of Contarini after Chioggia. The above list is taken from M. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 657.

[15] Veronese has left but few portraits as ordinarily understood, but those few are fine, and he has filled his large compositions with portraiture, being indeed a real Venetian Ghirlandajo in his inclination to make his fellow-citizens spectators of, and actors in the scenes from Holy Writ.

[16] See extracts from Battista Franco.

[17] Upon the ceiling of the *Sala del Maggior Consiglio* he painted (see note 14) the Triumph of Venice, which is so rich and so silvery at once in its color

chant the front of a house, which is situate on the road leading from San Maurizio to San Moisè, and this also was a very beautiful work, but the sea-air is gradually destroying that production.[18] For Cammillo Trevisano, Paulino painted a Loggia and an apartment in fresco at Murano, which were greatly admired, and at the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, he painted the Marriage at Cana in Galilee, at the upper end of a very large room;[19]

that it may be called magnificent in its *technique* as in its motive. As a subject it is exactly what Veronese loved best to treat, and among his pictures only the Marriage of Cana and the Family of Darius can rival it. Gautier has called it an Assumption, it is rather an Apotheosis; it is, moreover, one of the best examples of the so-called *grandes machines* that exists. No picture shows a more masterly arrangement, a style at once so sumptuous, yet elevated, figures whose somewhat exuberant loveliness is saved from vulgarity by an air of pride and energy, magnificent material treated with such ease and sincerity. The architectonic setting, the picturesque crowd below, the robustly beautiful women around the Venice, are handled with a certain forceful dexterity and with no more apparent effort than Veronese showed in disposing of the folds of a brocaded *zimarra*. Here is indeed a worthy incarnation of Venice—beautiful, stately, luxurious, proud, receiving the homage of earth and sea, of east and west. These Epicureans are the children of fighters and invaders, these healthy and vigorous bodies are overflowing with vitality; their grace is born of strength, and looking at them we realize that the heroic age had not yet passed away when Veronese painted this triumphal hymn to the republic.

[18] The fresco has disappeared.

[19] The Marriage of Cana (together with the Venice Crowned, painted on the ceiling of the Hall of the Great Council) and the Family of Darius may be considered Veronese's most representative work. He painted four other enormous pictures of the same character, each a *Cena*, each one famous. Of these the Marriage of Cana, painted 1563, for the refectory of the convent of S. Giorgio Maggiore, is now in the Louvre; it was brought from Italy during the wars of the French Republic and was so large and difficult of transportation that when the other pictures were returned to the Italians a work by Lebrun was accepted in exchange and the Cana remained in the Louvre. It was painted between June 6, 1562, and September 8, 1563 (see C. Yriarte, *op. cit.*, p. 34). The Feast at the House of Simon, painted for the Servites, is also in the Louvre; Louis XIV. having desired in 1664 to buy it of the monks, the Signoria of Venice forbade them to sell it to the king, bought it from the convent, and sent it as the gift of the Republic to Louis. The Feast at the House of the Leper, painted (1570) for the convent of S. Sebastiano, is in the Brera at Milan. The Feast at the House of Levi, painted (1573) for the church of Saints Giovanni e Paolo, is now in the Academy of Venice. The two last pictures are especially fine, but the Marriage of Cana

this work is most wonderful for grandeur, for power of invention, for number of figures, and for variety of vestments: if I recollect rightly, it comprises more than a hundred and fifty heads, all judiciously varied and executed with the utmost care.

The same artist was commissioned by the procurators of San Marco to paint certain angular medallions; these are in the ceiling of the Nicene library,[20] which was bequeathed

is the greatest of all of them, indeed is in some respects the *chef-d'œuvre* of modern painting. The famous painter, Thomas Couture, in his *Entretiens d'atelier*, says of Veronese: "Let us speak of his method of painting. It is not that of Titian. I do not hesitate to say it is *the* painting *par excellence;* there is nothing beyond it; it is the apogee." These remarks may be especially applied to the Cana. One may add that not only the painting but the composition is astonishing in its ease, and in its absence of any *apparent* science or method. It appears almost fortuitous, yet is in reality ordered and harmonious. It comprehends a great number of personages, and the interest of portraiture is added to the purely artistic interest. Veronese himself sits among the musicians playing a 'cello, Tintoretto accompanies him, Titian plays the *contra-basso*, and Benedetto Caliari also appears. The guests for whom they are making music include kings and emperors, and sultans—Solyman I., Francis I., Charles V.

Mr. W. M. Rossetti, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, says admirably of Veronese: "He enjoys a sight much as Ariosto enjoys a story, and displays it in form and colour with a zest like that of Ariosto for language and verse. . . . He was supreme in representing, without huddling or confusion, numerous figures in a luminous and diffused atmosphere, while in richness of draperies and transparency of shadows he surpassed all the other Venetians or Italians. In gifts of this kind Rubens alone could be pitted against him. In the moderation of art combined with its profusion he far excelled Rubens; for dazzling as is the first impression of a great work by Veronese, there is in it in reality as much of soberness and serenity as of exuberance." Charles Blanc believed the following note, written upon the back of one of Veronese's drawings, to be by the master himself; it is at all events most characteristic of this painter of feasts: "If I have time I want to represent a sumptuous banquet in a superb hall, at which will be present the Virgin, the Saviour, and Joseph. They will be served by the most brilliant *cortège* of angels which any one can imagine, busied in offering the daintiest viands and an abundance of splendid fruit in dishes of gold and silver. Others will hand them precious wines in transparent crystal glasses and gilded goblets, in order to show with what zeal blessed spirits serve their Lord."

[20] This ceiling of the Nicene Library, in the *Libreria di San Marco*, was painted, says M. Yriarte, somewhat before Paolo's trip to Rome with Cardinal Grimani. This journey seems to have taken place between 1563 and 1565. Herr Janitschek has even doubted if it ever occurred. MM. Müntz and

to the Signoria by the Cardinal Bessarion, with a vast treasure of Greek books collected by that prelate. Now the above-named Proveditors, when they caused the painting of the library to be commenced, had promised a prize of honour, over and over the price agreed on, to him who should best acquit himself in the decoration of the same, the work was then divided among the best painters at that time in Venice.[21]

Being completed, and after all the pictures had been well examined, a golden chain was placed around the neck of Paulino, he, by the opinion of all, being adjudged to have done the best.[22] The picture which obtained him this

Yriarte are convinced that they see the influence of it in some of Veronese's works. Veronese did not readily seek honors, though he often obtained them, and the story is told that on the occasion of a great competition for orders to paint in the Ducal Palace, Caliari refrained so completely from active rivalry that Contarini, the Mecænas of the moment, reproached him with his pride. Paolo replied that he knew better how to deserve orders than how to seek them.

[21] One of Veronese's largest and finest works is the Family of Darius at the feet of Alexander (now in the National Gallery of London); it is said that the picture was painted while the painter was visiting the Pisani and left with them as a gift. There is also a tradition that this gift was a surprise, and that the work was done secretly in the Pisani Palace. This is impossible from the size of the canvas and the requirements as to models, etc., but it may easily have been a work executed with the connivance of the family as a surprise to some particular member, presumably its head. M. Müntz says of this fine picture, "it is thus that Raphael, had he been born a Venetian, would have understood the representation of a scene from ancient history." The Martyrdom of St. George, in the church of San Giorgio in Braida at Verona, is another magnificent work, while the Three Bishops in the Brera Gallery is a specially dignified and individual picture. The marriage of St. Catherine (Venice) is also admirable. Paris claims a number of canvases, so does nearly every one of the great capitals, and Morelli says the artist is better represented in Dresden than even in the Louvre or the Academy of Venice. Critics, however, differ as to certain attributions; compare for instance the long list of works in M. Charles Yriarte's *Paul Véronèse*, pp. 69–77, with the relatively restricted list of Mr. Bernhard Berenson in his Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, pp. 127–129.

[22] Armand Baschet (see *Paul Véronèse devant le Saint Office*, Orléans, 1880) discovered a document which is at once curious and entertaining, and which, were it not for its length, might well be quoted *in extenso*. (For an excellent abridgment, see Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance*, pp. 44, 45.) On July 18, 1573, Veronese was called before the Tribunal of the Holy Office and

victory and prize of honour, was that wherein he has represented Music; here are depicted three young and very beautiful women, one, the most beautiful of all, is playing on the bass-viol, her eyes are cast down, being fixed on the handle of the instrument, and her attitude clearly shows that her ear and voice are intently following the sound; of the other two, one is playing a lute, and the other sings from a book. Near these figures is a Cupid without wings playing on a harpsicord, to signify that Love is awakened by Music, or that Love is ever the companion of Music; and the artist has made him without wings, to show that he never parts from her. In the same work Paulino depicted Pan, who, according to the poets, is the god of shepherds, holding in his hand pipes or flutes made of the bark of trees, these being such as have been dedicated to him in the manner of vows, by shepherds who had been victorious in the trial of playing on them.[23]

questioned concerning his *Cena* painted for the convent of Saints Giovanni e Paolo, and now in the Academy of Venice. He was taken to task for having introduced into the presence of sacred personages "buffoons, dwarfs, drunken Germans, and other fooleries." It must be remembered that a German *lanzknecht*—and Paolo had painted one of these as a halberdier stanching a bleeding nose—meant to the Italians a Lutheran, a heretical invader, a merciless pillager, such as they had seen to their cost in the ranks of Georg Frundsberg. Paolo in reply to his interrogators invoked the license allowed to "poets and fools," and admitted that when empty spaces on his pictures required filling he put in figures of his "own invention." His questioners having suggested such compositional changes as the substitution of the Magdalen in the place where Paolo had put a dog, the poor painter averred his readiness to honor the Magdalen on all occasions, but said that there were artistic reasons which made the change embarrassing. Last of all, when pushed by the Tribunal, he cited the example of Michelangelo, who in his Last Judgment had represented all of the holy personages as quite nude. The upshot of the investigation was a reprimand to the painter, who was ordered to remove the obnoxious figures, at his own expense, before the expiration of three months.

[23] Another of Veronese's idyls is the Rape of Europa, in the *Anticollegio* of the Ducal Palace. It is a famous and beautiful picture, but nevertheless lacks atmosphere more than do most of Veronese's works; there is even a certain paperiness about some of the draperies, and parts of the picture do not keep their proper planes. It is likely enough that time rather than the painter is at fault. On the other hand, though one cannot echo the dictum of Gautier

Two other pictures were painted by Paulino in the same place, in one of which is Arithmetic, accompanied by philosophers, dressed after the manner of the ancients; in the other is Honour, to whom, she being seated, sacrifices are offered and royal crowns presented.[24] But as this young

that this is the finest pearl in Veronese's casket, few are insensible to its charm, which, Taine said, "*met la joie au cœur.*" The whole picture seems steeped in an atmosphere of youth and opulent beauty and perennial pleasure. Though the pink-and-white Europa and the girls around her suggest the type of the eighteenth century painters; though the idyl lacks the serene breadth and simplicity of Giorgione's pastorals; though these women in their pearls and silks are fine ladies, not nymphs or goddesses, their vigorous grace and tranquillity are of the true golden age. The greenish shadows from the branches above them fall on the billows of brocade, on the warm amber tones of the amply moulded shoulders, on the rosy necks under the gold fuzz that escapes from the tightly coiled braids. The cool shimmer of the pearls, the flowers, the glimpse of peacock-colored sea, the little pink ears in the shadow of the bright hair, what a delicious feast for the eye they are!

[24] Paolo Veronese is the despair of the modern artist by the volume, the quality, and the facility of his work; that he should have done so much so admirably, and should have done it all so easily, seems nearly incredible. He is not so great an artist as Titian, nor so great a poet as Tintoretto, but neither of these has produced anything which as a simple *tour de force* of painting equals the Marriage of Cana in the Louvre. In this great picture and in his Triumph of Venice, Veronese comes to us like a crash of music, music in which the brass is heard perhaps loudest of all, but where the strings, too, are in harmony, and if the spirit is not stirred by it the blood is and the pulse leaps. You hear the swelling of the trumpets, the blare of the bugles, horses curvet, banners wave, men, women, and children crowd balconies and monumental staircases before palaces such as Palladio loved, and behind all a low-toned blue stands for the sky of Venice. The pageants of the republic are the subjects which Paolo filled with a whole population of men and women who, above all else, *live* with an abounding fulness of life. With him existence seems to quicken into something stronger than is its daily habit; his pictorial moment is always at its fullest; he will paint adolescents and old men if need be, but his types have generally the vigor of middle life and are set in a perpetual pageant; it is when the drums strike, and the troops fall in, and horses begin to paw that Veronese takes up his brush; this to him is existence as it should be painted, and because his conviction was so sincere, his delight in splendor so honest, his sumptuousness is never vulgar.

Veronese is the best all-around draughtsman among the Venetians of the sixteenth century; his bodies and faces have a constructive soundness rarely found in the pictures of Titian and Tintoretto, and conspicuously absent in some of the latter's greatest works. His color has a *transparent*, brilliant lightness unequalled by that of any other master, and a sweeping sureness of touch which is a delight to the modern painter. He can compose superbly

man is just now in the best of his activity, and has not yet attained his thirty-second year,[25] I will say nothing more at present respecting him.

when he chooses, and if at times he does it so easily that the method of it is unnoticed, the effect is the greater; in this composition he rarely troubles himself about *chiaroscuro* as an aid, but gets along quite well without it. Some of his pictures show a certain weakness and prettiness of color, a fondness for pinks and blues, but it is not often that his color-instinct fails; he much more frequently falls short in the expression of his subject, for he cared little about drama, and stirs us by intense vitality rather than moves us by poignancy; some of his altar-pieces are confused and theatrical, and perhaps no Italian was ever less in love with the simple group of a Holy Family. Pushed to its logical sequence the weaker side of his art degenerates into the overblown and coarse; this is especially noticeable in the Maser frescoes, where the color, ruined by time and over-painting, fails to come to the artist's assistance. But his spontaneity and naturalness, in spite of his types, which are not always exempt from grossness, save him from vulgarity. No man ever painted more instinctively and because it was his natural means of expression, and for the easy handling of great masses of people upon huge, cheerful, light-filled canvases, no master has ever equalled Paul Veronese, the latest born, and in some respects the greatest, painter of the School of Venice.

[25] Veronese's death is entered in the books of the parish of San Samuele on the 19th of April, 1588. He caught cold when walking in the Jubilee procession for Sixtus V. and died of fever; he was buried in San Sebastiano, the church he had filled with his pictures. It is to be noted that the date upon his tombstone does not correspond as to the *day* of his death with the entry in the parish records.

GIOVANNANTONIO, CALLED SODDOMA, PAINTER OF VERCELLI

[Born 1477; died 1549.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Luigi Bruzza, *Notizie intorno alla patria e ai primi studi del pittore Giovanantonio Bazzi detto il Soddoma*, 1862. Albert Jansen, *Leben und Werke des Malers Giovan Antonio Bazzi von Vercelli genannt il Soddoma*, Stuttgart, 1870. Gustavo Frizzoni, *Antonio de' Bazzi*, Florence, 1871 (from *Nuova Antologia*); the same author in the *Giornale di Erudizione Artistica*, I., 1872, p. 208, and Giovannantonio de Bazzi article republished in the *Arte Italiana del Rinascimento*, pp. 95–187; *Lützow, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, IX., p. 33, Leipzic, 1876, article *Sodoma und sein Bildniss im Kloster von Monte Oliveto*. R. Vischer, *Giovanni Antonio de' Bazzi*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler;* published also in A. H. Keane's English translation of the Dohme Series: C. Timbal, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, dit Il Sodoma*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. XVIII., p. 18, Paris, 1878. Alessandro Vesme, *Martino Spanzotti Maestro del Sodoma*, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, II., p. 421. Herr Thausing, *Wiener Kunstbriefe*, Leipsic, 1884, pp. 238–68. *Il Sodoma, Gaudenzio Ferrari, Andrea Solari, illustrati in tre opere in Milano recentemente ricuperate*, article by Gustavo Frizzoni in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, IV., pp. 274–86. R. Graul, *Des Antonio de Bazzi Vermählung Alexander's mit Roxana*, *Graphischen Künste*, XVI., 1893. Richard Foerster, *Die Hochzeit Alexander's im Renaissance*, *Jahrbuch der Königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1894. Morelli's Italian Painters contains much concerning Bazzi, and M. Eugène Müntz, in his *Fin de la Renaissance*, has a particularly full and appreciative notice of that master.

HAD men the foresight to consider well their position when fortune offers to them the opportunity of making themselves rich by procuring for them the favour of great men and if in their youth they would labour to bring their merits and deserts into harmony with their good fortune, how marvellous would then be the effects that might be seen to result from their activity. But the contrary is known to be too often the case; for as it is true that he who confides his destiny solely to fortune, is for

the most part deceived, so is it almost most evident and daily proved by experience that even good ability will not accomplish any great things, if wholly left to itself and not accompanied by good fortune. If Giovan Antonio of Verzelli [1] had displayed excellence equal to his good fortune, as he might have done had he laboured to that effect,[2] he would not have found himself miserably reduced at the end of his life, which was always an eccentric and ill-governed one, to an old age marred by deplorable want.

Giovan Antonio was invited to Siena by certain merchants, who were agents of the noble family of the Spannocchi, when, as his good fortune, or perhaps his evil destiny, would have it, he did not for a time find any competitors in that city. He therefore laboured there alone, and this, although it was for the moment a kind of advantage, became eventually injurious to him, since he thus suffered himself in a certain manner to fall asleep, and never gave himself the trouble to study, but executed the greater part of his works by mere facility of hand, or if at times he did resolve to betake himself to some little study, these efforts were principally confined to copying and imi-

[1] Giovan Antonio de' Bazzi (sometimes incorrectly written Razzi; see Milanesi's commentary on the life of this artist) was born about 1477 at Vercelli, in Piedmont. M. Müntz cites a contract of November 28, 1490, apprenticing the twelve-year-old Giovanni for seven years to Martino de' Spanzotti, the best of the local masters. No work by Giovanni can be proved to have been executed in North Italy, but M. Müntz advances the opinion that at the end of his apprenticeship the artist must have visited Milan and come under the influence of the works of Leonardo, an influence which is so apparent in Giovanni's pictures. Morelli and Dr. Frizzoni hold that Bazzi was of the Lombardo-Milanese school and of a branch which came under the direct influence of Leonardo; indeed Morelli says that Giovanni was "the pupil" of da Vinci.

[2] This assertion may be true, as no sketches or preliminary studies for Bazzi's later pictures have been found. Giovanni's own work, his average work that is, testifies to the fairness of Vasari's statement; it is rarely what it might have been had the artist chosen to supplement temperament with hard work. He did occasionally use his best powers, and Vasari in his Life of Domenico Beccafumi has recognized this in his admission that Giovan Antonio was a good designer, and by his praise of Bazzi's really fine pictures.

tating the works of Jacopo della Fonte,[3] which were much admired in Siena, beyond this he did but little.

In the early days[4] of his residence at Siena, Giovan Antonio executed numerous portraits from the life,[5] with that glowing manner of colouring of his which he had brought from Lombardy,[6] and he then also made many friends in Siena, but more because the inhabitants of that city are much inclined to favour foreigners than on account of his merits as a painter. He was besides a man of joyous life and cheerful manners, a lover of pleasure, and ever ready to contribute to the amusement of others, even though it were not always in the most creditable manner, for which cause he obtained more than one by-name, among others that of Mattaccio, or the arch-fool; whereat, instead of being displeased and resenting the same, he would laugh and glorify himself, nay, he would make sonnets and canzonets upon these opprobrious epithets, which songs he would then sing to the lute, and that without reserve.

[3] If he did "little beyond this," in copying the works of Jacopo della Quercia (della Fonte) Giovanni did the wisest thing that he could, since the admirable sculptures of Jacopo impressed and powerfully influenced even Buonarroti himself, and were immeasurably superior to the works of all other Sienese of the *quattrocento*.

[4] Dr. Richter and Morelli consider that a Leda in the Borghese Gallery is copied from an original by Bazzi which was a work of his youth and which has disappeared. Morelli thinks that five drawings for this original may be identified as at Weimar, Chatsworth, Windsor, and the Museo Civico of Milan; of these, three (Chatsworth, Weimar, and Windsor) are attributed in the catalogues to Leonardo da Vinci, one (Windsor) to Raphael, and only the Milanese drawing to Bazzi. See also Dr. G. Frizzoni in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Vol. IV., p. 276, 1891. M. Müntz (*Fin de la Renaissance*, p. 517, note 1) says that one of the two Ledas in the Windsor collection is an "arch-authentic Leonardo."

[5] Herr Vischer believes that no early portraits by Bazzi can be identified. A portrait of a woman in the Staedel Institute of Frankfort, ascribed by some critics to del Piombo, and by Dr. Bode to Jan Scorel, is attributed to Bazzi by Morelli, who also accredits to the latter artist the head in the British Museum which has been called a portrait of Timoteo Viti by Raphael.

[6] For a description of a Madonna and Child by Bazzi, very Leonardesque in character, and which has recently been acquired by the Brera Gallery, see Dr. G. Frizzoni, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, Vol. IV., 1891, p. 274 *et seq.*

Giovan Antonio had a fancy for keeping all sorts of strange animals in his house, badgers, squirrels, apes, cat-a-mountains, dwarf asses, horses and barbs to run races, magpies, dwarf chickens, tortoises, Indian doves,* and other animals of similar kind, whatever he could get into his hands in short; he was always surrounded by children and young men, in whose society he took much pleasure; and besides the animals above-named, he had a raven, which he had so effectually taught to speak, that this creature counterfeited the voice of Giovan Antonio exactly in some things, more especially in replying to anyone who knocked at the door, nay, this last he did so perfectly, that he seemed to be the painter's very self, as all the Sienese well know. The other animals also were so tame that they were constantly assembled about[7] his person, while he was in the house,

* Read "badgers, squirrels, apes, catamounts, dwarf asses, Barbary race-horses, Elba ponies, jackdaws, bantams, turtle-doves, and other animals of a similar kind."

[7] In the Life of Domenico Beccafumi Vasari again alludes to this fancy for pet animals in his short notice of Bazzi.

"Now at this time Giovan Antonio da Vercelli, then a young and able painter, had been invited to Siena by one of the Spannocchi family, who was a merchant, and being much encouraged by the gentlemen of that city (which was ever the friend and protectress of all distinguished men) he found considerable employment, more especially in the execution of portraits from the life. Domenico Beccafumi hearing this, and having an earnest wish to revisit his native city, soon returned thither accordingly, and perceiving that Giovan Antonio possessed great powers of design, in which he well knew the excellence of an artist to consist, he did not content himself with what he had acquired in Rome, but set himself studiously to follow in the footsteps of Giovan Antonio, devoting his time more especially to the study of anatomy, and to drawing the nude figure.

"By all this Domenico profited to such an extent that in a short time he began to be much esteemed in that most noble city. Nor was he less beloved for his rectitude and the purity of his life, than approved for his excellence in art; for whereas Giovan Antonio, coarse, licentious, and eccentric as he was, had acquired the reputation of being one who wasted his time with infinite levity and with idle young men, and was even willing to accept that character; Domenico, on the contrary, was most orderly and well-conducted, lived as it beseemed a Christian man to do, and passed the greater part of his time alone. It will nevertheless sometimes happen that such as are called good fellows and merry companions are more sought after than are the virtuous and upright, and so it happened in this case, as regarded the youth of

and came round all who approached him, playing the strangest tricks, and performing the most extraordinary concerts ever seen or heard, insomuch that the dwelling of this man seemed like the very ark of Noah.

The unusual manner of living, the strangeness of his proceedings, with his works and pictures, some of which were certainly very good ones, caused Giovan Antonio to have

Siena, who were for the most part great admirers of Giovan Antonio, extolling him as a very original person. And he was without doubt very fanciful, taking pains to please the common herd, and always having his house full of parrots, apes, dwarfed asses, little horses from Elba, a raven that could speak, Barbary horses for running races, and other things of similar kind, wherewith he had made himself a name among the vulgar, and could talk of nothing else but of his follies."

Giovan Antonio's love of animals, which is rare to-day among the modern Italians, evidently puzzled and offended the correct and practical Vasari. Bazzi was not contented with filling his house with them; his raven and a couple of tame badgers are introduced into the fresco which contains his portrait at Monte Oliveto, his baboon rode before him when he won the race in Florence, and he made a list of all his pets in the following document, which he, in common with all householders, was obliged to send in to the municipal authorities in the year 1531.

"Be it herewith known and notified to you, my honourable fellow-townsmen, by me, Master John Soddoma, in respect to my possessions as under:

"First, then, I have a garden by the new fountain where I sow, and other folks reap.

"Then in Vallerozzi a house as my residence, not to mention a lawsuit with Niccolò de' Libri.

"In my stable eight horses, which they call my lambs and myself their bell-wether.

"Further, I have a monkey, moreover a raven which can talk, and which I keep by me in order that he may teach from his cage a theological jackass also to speak.

"Item: an owl to frighten the witches, two peacocks, two dogs, two cats, a sparrow-hawk and other birds of prey, six fowls, eighteen chicks, two moorfowl, and many other birds, to name all of which would only cause confusion. I have besides these, three abominably wicked beasts, to wit, my three women.

"Lastly, I have thirty grown-up children, and so far as this burden is concerned, your Excellencies will doubtless admit that I am a proprietor in a large way. Now whoso is father of twelve children is legally exempt from being summoned before the commune. And so I commend you to God's mercy. Farewell! Sodoma, Sodoma, *derivatum* M^th^ Sodoma." See the Padre della Valle's *Lettere Senesi*, Vol. III., Urgugieri's *Pompe Senesi*, Vol. II., p. 356, and R. Vischer, in *Kunst und Künstler*.

such a name among the Sienese (with the base and low that is to say, for those of higher condition judged him better), that he was held by many to be a great man.[8] Wherefore Fra Domenico da Leccio, a Lombard, being made General of the monks of Monte Oliveto, and Giovan Antonio, going to visit him at Monte Oliveto di Chiusuri, the principal abode of that Order, distant about fifteen miles from Siena,[9]

[8] This is not true; Bazzi worked for the Republic and for the nobles, not for the people. The real reasons for Vasari's unjust treatment of Bazzi are as yet undiscovered. As a man (not as an artist) the Lombard painter was constantly vilified and abused by the usually impartial biographer. Vasari's friendship and admiration for Beccafumi may have prejudiced him against Bazzi, Beccafumi's rival; perhaps there is some truth in the story that Bazzi laughed at Vasari's biographies (which were seen by many in manuscript long before their publication), and thus roused the rancor of their author. Wherever Vasari remains an art critic he is honest and unprejudiced; his blame is just, his praise not stinted when he speaks of Giovan Antonio's best works. When he writes of the man and not the artist he is, on the contrary, censorious, even bitter and most unfair; the love of fine clothes which Vasari finds dignified and decorous in Leonardo the master is ridiculous in Giovan Antonio, the "jack pudding" and "mountebank" pupil. Da Vinci's admirable love for animals is equally reprehensible in Bazzi; the latter's passion for racing, shared by all the Sienese citizens and the Florentine nobles, is most objectionable in the painter. Whatever the Vercellese artist does as a man, is ill done, according to our author; but we may remember that while several of Vasari's stories told to the artist's discredit are disproved by documents, not one is confirmed.

[9] No environment could be more inspirational than the magnificent mountain country about Monte Oliveto, made marvellously picturesque by the countless ravines which seam the hills on either side of the winding riband-like road that leads from Buon Convento to the monastery. From its terraces are seen Montalcino on its aërial platform, the delicate lines of Monte Amiata crowning a wide sweep of hills, Chiusuri on its height, the valleys torn and rent by the torrent-beds; a strange landscape, grand and impressive in its desolation. Almost equally stern and forbidding is the aspect of the monastery itself, a huge pile of purplish-red brick, raised upon gigantic buttresses above a wave-like crest of the hill. Its austere lines are broken only by the church with its square campanile and the machicolations of the fortress-like gate pierced with loop-holes, which defends the entrance of the long avenue of cypresses leading to the convent court-yard. Amidst these solemn surroundings, more sympathetic to the fiery and virile genius of his predecessor Signorelli than to the mischievous and beauty-loving Bazzi, the cycle of St. Benedict was painted. In these frescoes, commenced in 1506 and still in admirable preservation, there is nothing which rises to the height of two or three of Bazzi's best pictures, but as a series it is, on the whole, the most *ami-*

found so much to say and used so many persuasions, that he received a commission to finish the stories which had been partly executed on a wall of that monastery by Luca Signorelli of Cortona.[10] The subject which had been chosen was from the life of San Benedetto, and Bazzi undertook the work for a very low price, with the addition of his expenses and that of certain boys, colour grinders and other assistants, by whom he was attended. But the amusement which those fathers found in his proceedings while he worked in that place is not to be told, nor could one easily describe the pranks which he played there, insomuch that

able of his works. In their wide, sunlit cloister, protected from damp and wind by the glass with which the government has filled its outer arches, nothing could be more cheerful or attractive than these clear-colored frescoes, light in tone, free in their handling, yet far more *serrés* and close in drawing than are many of the artist's more pretentious pictures. There is a certain child-like sweetness, a simplicity of arrangement, a genial sense of humor which is as completely suited to the presentation of these indescribably petty miracles and trifling temptations as the genius of Signorelli was unsuited to it. The subjects themselves, forming "a painted *novella*" of monastic life, are utterly puerile in character, and their whole charm is in their treatment. Of such motives as "St. Benedict miraculously mends a sieve," Bazzi, by the beauty and sweetness of his types, by the introduction of portraits, by perfect naturalness, and, above all, by that *naïf* charm which five years later was forever stricken from Italian art by the splendors of the *Stanze* and the lightnings of the *Sistina*, by the qualities of simplicity, freshness, and vivacity, Giovan Antonio turns these rather absurd subjects into a series of pictures which please enduringly. There are other works by Bazzi at Monte Oliveto, a Madonna at the head of the dormitory staircase and a Christ bound to the pillar near the entrance of the church, a *replica* of the picture in the gallery of Siena. The fragments of a most curious fresco are also attributed to Bazzi. In 1892 two of the annotators of these volumes while visiting the monastery were lodged in the suite of rooms which formerly belonged to the Abbot. On the walls of one of these chambers were fragments of frescoes emerging from the whitewash. The subject, evidently a large composition, represented the fall of the rebellious angels and their gradual transformation into fiends; the figures near the ceiling were still beautiful youths with wide, white pinions, while those who had fallen almost to the base-board were changed to black, bat-winged demons. The Abbate di Negro, who administers the estates of Monte Oliveto for the Italian government and receives the visitors to the monastery, ascribes these fragments to Bazzi.

[10] Luca Signorelli left these frescoes unfinished to go to Orvieto, where he was to paint the chapel of San Brizio in the cathedral.

the monks then bestowed on him that name of *Mattaccio*, before alluded to, in requital of his follies.

Returning to the work itself, however, Giovan Antonio, having finished certain stories in a manner which showed more readiness of hand than care and thought, the General complained of that circumstance, when Il Mattaccio replied, that he worked according to his humour, and that his pencil only danced in harmony with the sound of the coins, adding, that if the General would pay more, he was quite able to produce much better work. Thereupon Fra Domenico promised to pay him better for the future, when Giovan Antonio painted three stories which still remained to be executed in the angles, with so much more of thought and care than he had given to the others, that they proved to be much better works.[11]

In the first of these pictures is seen San Benedetto departing from Norica, and leaving his parents to go and pursue his studies in Rome; in the second are San Mauro and San Placido brought to him as children, and dedicated by their parents to God: the third picture represents the Goths burning Monte Cassino. Last of all, and to do despite to the General and those monks, Giovan Antonio depicted the story of the Priest Fiorenzo, the enemy of San Benedetto, who brought a number of public dancing women to sing and frolic around the monastery of that holy man, thereby to tempt and disturb the devotions of those fathers.[12] In this story Il Mattaccio, who was as eccentric in painting as in the other actions of his life, exhibited a dance of nude figures, which was altogether offensive, and, as he knew that this would not be permitted, he refused to let any of the

[11] The angle pictures really are among the most interesting and best painted of the series.

[12] This group of girls may be accounted among the most charming creations of the Renaissance. There is still something of the fifteenth rather than of the sixteenth century about these figures. They are graceful, not monumental; they are suggestive of Leonardo da Vinci; are characteristic of a northern as distinguished from a Tuscan painter, and possess the easy grace and seductive loveliness of Bazzi's ideal type.

monks see his work while it was in progress. When this story was uncovered, the General at once commanded that it should be instantly destroyed and done away with, but Mattaccio, after much idle talk, and seeing that the father was in great anger, added draperies to all the figures in the picture, which is among the best of those to be found in the Monte Oliveto.

Under each of the stories above-mentioned, the same artist painted two medallions, in each of which is a Monk, the whole range presenting figures of all the Generals by whom that Congregation had been governed. Not having the portraits from the life, Il Mattaccio executed most of these heads from fancy, but in some he placed the portraits of certain among the older monks then in the monastery, bringing down the series until he came to the above-named Fra Domenico da Leccio, who was then General, as we have said, and from whom he had received his commission for the work. But some of these heads, having subsequently had their eyes put out, while others had been also injured in various parts, the Bolognese Fra Antonio Bentivogli caused them all, and for very good reasons, to be taken away.

While Giovan Antonio was occupied with these paintings, a Milanese gentleman had gone to take the habit of a monk in that monastery; he was at the time wearing a yellow cloak, bordered and trimmed with black cords, as was the fashion of the period; and when the gentleman had taken the habit, this cloak was given by the General to Mattaccio,[13] when the latter, putting it on his back, drew his

[13] This cloak was not given to the painter, but was bought by him. From the archives of Monte Oliveto we learn that the price, not only of this mantle but of the complete costume of the Milanese gentleman, was deducted from the payment made by the General of the monastery to Bazzi for these frescoes. He is therefore no jackdaw, but the owner of fine feathers which he wears by right of possession. In the long series of portraits of painters of the Renaissance, many are nobler than this one, but few are more characteristic, and the figure is especially happy in giving life to what would otherwise be but a tame subject.

own portrait, thus clothed, with the aid of a mirror, in the picture wherein San Benedetto, when little more than a child, miraculously mends and makes whole the pail or tub * of his nurse which she had broken.[14] At the feet of his own portrait Mattaccio painted those of his raven, with a baboon, and some other of his animals.[15]

This work being finished, Giovan Antonio painted a picture, the subject of which was the Miracle of the five loaves and two fishes, in the Refectory of Sant' Anna, a house belonging to the same Order, and at the distance of about five miles from Monte Oliveto, with other figures in other parts of the monastery.[16] When this work was finished, Bazzi returned to Siena, where he decorated in fresco the façade of the house of the Sienese Messer Agostino de' Bardi, which is situate at the Pustierla: in this painting were many things worthy of praise, but much of it has been destroyed by time and the action of the air.[17]

In the meantime[18] Agostino Chigi, a very rich and most renowned Sienese merchant, visited his native city, and Giovan Antonio was made known to him, as well by the follies he committed, as because he had the name of a good painter; wherefore Agostino conducted him to Rome, where Pope Julius II. was at that time causing the papal apartments in the Vatican,[19] which had formerly been erected

* It is a sieve and not "a pail or tub."

[14] This fresco still contains the portrait of Bazzi.

[15] There is no baboon in this picture; there are a raven and two tame badgers. The figures of a woman and a little girl in the same panel are often called the wife and daughter of Bazzi. This is a manifest error, as the frescoes were painted in 1505–6 and the artist was not married until 1510.

[16] The refectory of Sant' Anna, in Creta near Pienza, has been used as a wine-cellar, and though the paintings on the walls were fairly well preserved, the small pictures on the monks' benches had almost disappeared when Milanesi saw them. For the wall pictures see the catalogue of the photographer Lombardi of Siena.

[17] This *façade* was painted in 1513 in exchange for a horse worth thirty gold ducats.

[18] Agostino Chigi went to Siena in 1507 to negotiate the sale of Port' Ercole.

[19] The *Stanza della Segnatura*.

by Nicholas V., to be decorated with paintings, and Chigi so contrived that Giovan Antonio was employed with other artists to work in those apartments.

Now Pietro Perugino was then painting the ceiling of one of the rooms, that namely which is close beside the Torre Borgia, but he, being an old man, worked slowly, and, not being able to commence such other portions of the work as he had at first been commanded to execute, a room beside that which Pietro was painting was then given to Giovan Antonio. He, therefore, putting hand to the same, painted the decorations of cornices, friezes, and foliage, which border the ceiling, and then proceeded to paint certain large circular compartments, wherein he executed stories in fresco, which are of very considerable merit. But as this animal, occupied as he was with his four-footed creatures and his follies, did not steadily continue and put forward the work, Raffaello da Urbino, who had been invited to Rome by the architect Bramante, and whose superiority to the other artists had become manifest to the Pontiff,—Raffaello, I say, received charge of the whole, and his Holiness commanded that neither Perugino nor Giovan Antonio should work any more in those apartments, nay, furthermore, he gave orders that all which they had done should be destroyed.

But Raffaello, who was goodness and modesty itself permitted all the paintings that Pietro Perugino, who had formerly been his master, had accomplished, to retain their places, nor did he efface the work of the Mattaccio except so far as the figures of the medallions and the stories were concerned ; all the decorations and ornaments which served as framework, he suffered to remain, and they still surround the figures executed by Raphael, that of Justice and Knowledge namely, with those of Poetry and Theology.[20]

[20] Raphael respected Bazzi's work in the *Segnatura* and showed his regard for the man by introducing his portrait side by side with his own in the School of Athens. This figure of Bazzi, dressed in a white tunic and a white cap, has been mistaken for a portrait of Perugino, Raphael's master. At least Morelli

Then Agostino, who was a man of the utmost courtesy and kindness, without permitting himself to be deterred by the affront which had been put upon Giovan Antonio, gave him one of the principal rooms in his palace in the Trastevere to paint. This is the apartment which opens on the great hall, and the subject of the work was Alexander and Roxana in their bridal chamber.[21] Among other figures Bazzi here depicted Loves employed in various offices ; some unfasten the cuirass of Alexander, others draw off his sandals or buskins, some carry away and lay aside his helmet and mantle, while others scatter flowers upon the bed or

vigorously sustains that this portrait is Giovan Antonio, while M. Müntz is equally positive that this theory is wholly untenable and that the person represented here is far too old to be Bazzi. To us the features appear those of a man about thirty years old, and rather resembling Bazzi than Perugino. The latest large isochromatic photographs of this group taken by Alinari corroborate Morelli's theory.

[21] This picture, based upon Lucian's account of a composition by Aetion, was painted during Bazzi's second visit to Rome in 1513 (1514 n. s.). There were also other frescoes in this series (on the first floor of the Villa Farnesina) ; these were the Family of Darius at the Feet of Alexander, Vulcan's Forge (see note 22), and Alexander taming Bucephalus. M. Müntz, praising these figures, says of them, "*Les figures sont du Raphaël, mais du Raphaël plus fluide et plus suave.*" This is precisely what they are to so great a degree that their fluidity has made some of them relatively shapeless, and very unsatisfactory to the student, although their suavity has, it is true, much of the charm which never deserted Bazzi. There has been a long controversy concerning the fine drawing (which was acquired by the Albertina of Vienna) for the Marriage of Alexander and Roxana, as well as regarding other drawings in Buda-Pesth, Windsor, and elsewhere, representing the same subject. Several of these were long attributed to Raphael and considered the original designs for a fresco (now destroyed) painted by Raphael's pupils in the *casino* of the Borghese park. The fresco by Bazzi in the Farnesina closely, but not entirely, resembles this drawing at Vienna, and Morelli was convinced that all of the drawings referring to it, and attributed to Raphael, were really by Giovan Antonio. For his reasons, see Italian Painters, I., p. 232, and Italian Masters in German Galleries, p. 429, note 1. M. Müntz entirely disagrees with Morelli, and Herr Richard Foerster (*Die Hochzeit Alexander's*, etc. in the Prussian *Jahrbuch* for 1894) has, it is claimed, confuted the theories of Morelli as to Bazzi's being the author of the drawings. Herr Foerster's study passes in review the many designs, original or copies (among the latter a drawing in the Museum of Haarlem has been recently brought to notice), which complicate the question, and his essay is reviewed by Herr Cornelius von Fabriczy in the *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, 1896, p. 474.

perform services of similar kind; near the chimney is a figure of Vulcan[22] engaged in the forging of arrows.

This work was then considered a very good and praiseworthy performance, and if Il Mattaccio, who had some very excellent parts, and was powerfully aided by nature, had profited by the mishap we have referred to above, and then devoted himself to his studies, as any other would have done, he might have become a very excellent painter; but he, whose thoughts were ever running on some absurdity, worked by fits and starts only, or when the fancy took him, caring for nothing more earnestly than the dressing himself pompously, wearing a doublet of brocade, a short cloak all covered over and decorated with cloth of gold, head-gear of the richest fashion, a gold chain and other fopperies of similar kind, best suited to Jack-puddings and Mountebanks, in all which Agostino, whom that humour of his diverted greatly, found the finest sport in the world.

Pope Julius II. having then died, and Leo X., whom all fantastic and light-minded creatures such as was this man pleased well; Leo X., I say, being created high Pontiff,[23] Il Mattaccio was suddenly raised to the very summit of delight, and the rather as he detested Julius, who had done him that scorn; wherefore, desiring to make his talents known to the new Pontiff, he set himself to work, and executed a painting wherein he depicted a nude figure of Lucretia stabbing herself with the poniard. And as fortune is favourable to fools and will sometimes bring aid to thoughtless men, so Giovan Antonio succeeded in producing the most beautiful form of a woman that can be conceived, with a head that was breathing.[24]

[22] Some critics deny that the Vulcan is by Bazzi.

[23] In 1513.

[24] This picture was supposed to be one in the collection of Herr Kestner in Hanover, but Dr. Frizzoni has proved that this Lucretia is not a work of Bazzi but of Peruzzi. The picture painted for the Pope has disappeared. The work has also been identified by some critics with a Lucrezia in the Turin Gallery. According to Morelli (Italian Painters) the pictures by Bazzi in Rome are the frescoes of the Farnesina, the Rape of the Sabines (Palazzo

The work thus happily completed, Agostino Chigi, who stood in the closest relations of service with Leo X., caused it to be presented to his Holiness, by whom the artist was made a Cavalier or Knight and duly remunerated for so beautiful a picture. It now appeared to Giovan Antonio that he had become a great man, and he began to refuse all labour unless when he was driven to work by actual want.

Agostino Chigi, being then called by certain of his affairs to Siena, took Giovan Antonio with him, but while dwelling there, the artist, being a knight without revenues, was compelled to set himself to work; he therefore painted a picture, the subject of which was Our Saviour Christ in the act of being taken from the cross; beneath is the Virgin in a swoon, with an armed warrior whose back is turned to the spectator, but the front of whose figure is shown as reflected from certain pieces of armour lying on the earth, and which armour is as clear as a mirror. This picture, which was and is considered one of the best of Bazzi's works, was placed in the church of San Francesco, on the right hand as one enters the church.[25] In the cloister also, which is beside the said church of San Francesco, Giovan Antonio executed a fresco of Christ scourged at the column,[26] with numerous figures of Jews standing around Pilate, and a range of columns designed in perspective, forming a kind of vestibule. In this work Giovan Antonio painted the portrait of himself without a beard, or rather with the beard shaven, and with long hair as they were worn at that time.

No long time afterwards, our artist painted certain pictures for the Signor Jacopo Sesto of Piombino; and, being

Chigi), the St. Christopher (Palazzo Spada), a Holy Family, and a *Pietà* (in the Borghese Gallery).

[25] It is now in the picture gallery of Siena. The church of San Francesco was burned in 1655, and restored and consecrated in August, 1894.

[26] This figure of Christ was sawn off the wall in 1842, transferred to canvas, and placed in the picture gallery of Siena. The rest of the fresco had perished.

with Signor Jacopo in that place, he furthermore depicted other works on cloth for the same Noble.[27] Wherefore, besides many presents and marks of favour which were shown him by Signor Jacopo, Bazzi also procured by his means a number of little animals from his Island of Elba, of the kind produced in that island, and all which Giovan Antonio then took with him to Siena.

Repairing subsequently to Florence, he was commissioned by a monk of the Brandolini family, who was then Abbot of the monastery of Monte Oliveto, which is situate outside the gate of San Friano, to paint certain pictures in fresco on the wall of the Refectory. But negligent and thoughtless as he was, Giovan Antonio executed these works without care or study, and they proved to be so worthless that he was utterly shamed and treated with scorn for his follies by those who had been led to expect that he would produce some extraordinary work.[28]

While Bazzi was occupied with this painting, he sent a Barbary horse, which he had brought with him to Florence, to run at the race of San Bernaba; and, as fortune would have it, his horse ran much better than the others, and won the prize. But when the boys, who, according to the usual custom, followed the trumpeters after the race, to call out the name of the master to whom the winning horse belonged, came to Bazzi inquiring what name they were to

[27] Bazzi worked for Giacomo V., not VI., Prince of Piombino, in 1538. Nothing is known about these pictures.

[28] Milanesi states that these frescoes were destroyed, but apparently they were only whitewashed. Some twenty years ago M. Müntz visited Monte Oliveto, which had become a military hospital, and saw a few fine figures, evidently from a Last Supper, in the chaplain's cell, which once formed part of the refectory; the rest of the composition was covered with whitewash and a partition wall. M. Müntz recognized in these fragments the grand manner of the sixteenth century, without, however, attributing them to any special master, and pointed them out to his *confrères*, hoping that they would discover the painter. In his *Fin de la Renaissance*, published in 1895, he gives the *Cena* unhesitatingly to Bazzi. As to Vasari's criticism of the work, it may be said that Florence was the last place in Italy where a painter could afford the slurring and careless drawing which Bazzi not infrequently permitted to himself.

call out, he replied, Il Mattaccio,*[29] and the boys so called out accordingly; when that disreputable name being heard

* In the Milanesi edition this sentence reads, "*ed avendo egli risposto, Soddoma, Soddoma; i fanciulli così gridavano.*"

[29] Milanesi thinks that Giovan Antonio gave this evil name to be called out with the intention of insulting the Florentines; but the same author cites Eurialo Morani d' Ascoli, who in 1526 printed certain Latin epigrams praising Bazzi's painting of Lucrezia and attacking the painter's moral character. It must be remembered, however, that the vilest and foulest epithets were in common use during the Renaissance, not only among the people but among scholars and humanists. Many of the men most distinguished for their Latinity were equally noted for their powers of invective, with which not only the personal character of an adversary was assailed but that of his whole family and remote ancestry as well. It was an every-day affair for the learned or the lettered to accuse their opponents of monstrous crimes, and much of this scurrilous abuse must be considered as merely conventional in the literature of vituperation which interested and diverted the Italians of the Renaissance. Students of the revival of learning, of the wordy combats of the humanists Filelfo, Poggio, and Valla, will be inclined to disregard certain accusations. On the other hand, Sienâ had a bad reputation for luxurious living which a Florentine would not be inclined to underestimate; it was also in *Molles Senæ* that Beccadelli placed the scene of his famous poem.

It is highly probable that Vasari's injustice to Bazzi came primarily from an inability to understand him. The whimsical, roguish Lombard, with a little of the charlatan and much of the boy in his character, was incomprehensible to the earnest, studious, laborious Florentine, and Bazzi's love of frolic and his light-hearted willingness to appear worse than he was, gave Vasari sufficient cause to distrust and despise him. The most charitable and not wholly unreasonable estimate of Giovan Antonio's character is that he was the sixteenth-century counterpart of a type of artist constantly seen among the students of the European art schools of to-day, namely, the *blagueur d'atelier*, the studio-jester. The *blagueur* is a madcap, sometimes an idler, sometimes a busybody, constantly boasting of his misdoings, which are always exaggerated, and sometimes purely imaginary, and sacrificing any thing at any time for what he considers a joke. He is no respecter of persons, is more or less foul-mouthed, generally more; delights in being conspicuous, and, above all, troublesome; joys in shocking the respectable and outraging the conventional; personal dignity does not exist for him, and reserve is an unknown quantity; but he is quick-witted, good-hearted, and as ready to help as to hinder. He is utterly improvident, and though sometimes capable of brilliant artistic performances, is not a little handicapped by laziness, though in time of war or revolution the laziness gives way to action, and the *blagueur* has supported his convictions or served his country as well as the most earnest of his comrades. Just what Giovan Antonio was like we shall probably never know; Raphael seems to have esteemed him, and he was a favorite with the Sienese; there is no testimony to support the charges against him, and the story of his domestic unhappiness is disproved by docu-

by certain grave old men, they began to complain of it and to say: "What unbeseeming thing is this, and what boldness is here, that there should be called through our city so opprobrious a name as this?" in such sort that a clamour arose, and the poor Mattaccio was within an ace of being stoned by the boys and people, together with his horse and the ape which he had with him on the saddle.

Giovan Antonio had indeed won many races in the course of years (which had been gained by his horses as described above),[30] and displayed indescribable vain-glory in the matter of his accumulated prizes, he would exhibit them to every one who came into the house, nay, he would very frequently make a show of them at his windows.[31]

But we return to his works. For the Brotherhood of San Bastiano in Camollia, whose place is behind the church of the Umiliati, Giovan Antonio painted a Gonfalon on cloth and in oil, for the Brotherhood to carry in procession, the subject being San Sebastiano, nude and fastened to a tree. The figure supports itself on the right foot, the left leg being foreshortened, and the head raised towards an angel who is placing a crown on the head of the Saint. This work is a truly beautiful one, and is worthy of the highest commendation; on the reverse of the banner is Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, while be-

mentary evidence. That he was often lazy and indifferent seems to be shown by his work, but we cannot call him weak artistically, for he was distinctly individual and saw nature from a personal point of view; perhaps no artist ever possessed more temperament than did this spoiled child of Painting.

[30] The names and descriptions of Bazzi's racers are in the Sienese archives. A letter dated June 18, 1515, from Jacopo V. d' Appiano, Lord of Piombino, recommends to Lorenzo de' Medici "Joan Antonio de' Averzè, my servant and bearer of the letter, who comes to Florence to enter his horses for the race" ("*per far correre sui cavelli*"). It will be remembered that Bazzi won the race described by Vasari in this same year on St. John's day.

[31] Here Vasari is most unjust to Bazzi. In Siena it was, and still is, accounted a great honor to win the *Palio*. Indeed, what was vainglorious in Giovanni was proper pride in a Florentine; it was a Tuscan custom to decorate the windows upon *festa* days by hanging out rich stuffs and banners and the cloth of gold racing-prizes of the Alessandri were famous in Florentine archives.

neath are San Gismondo and San Rocco, with some Flagellants who are kneeling on the earth. It is said that certain merchants of Lucca would have given the men of the Brotherhood three hundred gold crowns for the picture, but could not obtain it even for that sum, the company not being willing to part with so admirable a work.[32]

And of a truth Il Mattaccio, whether by care, by favour of fortune, or by chance, did in some of his performances acquit himself exceedingly well, but of these works he produced very few; there is one of them in the Sacristy of the monks of Mount Carmel, a Nativity of Our Lady, with nurses variously occupied standing around, this is exceedingly beautiful.[33] At the corner of the Piazza de' Tolomei also Il Mattaccio painted a fresco of the Madonna with the Divine Child in her arms, for the guild of the Shoemakers; San Giovanni, San Francesco, San Rocco, and San Crispino, who is the advocate of the men of that trade, are also depicted in that work, the last-mentioned Saint holding a shoe in his hand. In the heads of these figures, as well as in every other part of the picture, Giovan Antonio has here also acquitted himself exceedingly well.

For the company of San Bernardino of Siena, whose house is beside the church of San Francesco, this master painted stories in fresco, which he executed in competition with the Sienese painter Girolamo del Pacchia and with Domenico Beccafumi, in the chapel of the above-named Brotherhood. The subjects of these works are the Presentation of Our Lady in the temple, the Visitation of the

[32] This picture, painted in 1525, is now in the Uffizi. The company had agreed to pay twenty ducats for it, but were so pleased with it that they added ten ducats to the price. In a certain delicate and graceful beauty the face of the St. Sebastian is unsurpassed by anything of its time, nevertheless in some subtle way it announces the decadence, the work of Guido and of the seventeenth century. Although the drawing of the figure is far better, the silhouette far more seriously studied than is most of Bazzi's work, it must be admitted that the whole is greatly lacking in solidity, is even papery-looking in its lack of modelling.

[33] Still *in situ*.

Madonna to Sant' Elizabetta, her Assumption, and her Coronation in heaven. In one of the angles of the same chapel he painted a Saint in the episcopal robes, with San Lodovico and Sant' Antonio of Padua in the others, but the best figure of all is that of San Francesco, who, standing upright, is raising his head towards a little angel, who appears to be speaking to him: the head of San Francesco himself is truly admirable.[34]

In the palace of the Signoria at Siena, Giovan Antonio painted numerous little tabernacles in one of the large halls,[35] decorating the same with clusters of columns, angels in the form of little children, and other ornaments. Within these tabernacles also there are various figures; one of these is San Vittorio armed after the manner of the antique, and holding his sword in his hand: near him, and depicted in like manner is Sant' Ansaldo * baptizing certain catechumens; and in a third is San Benedetto, all very beautiful figures.[36]

In the lower part of the same palace, and where the salt is sold, Giovan Antonio painted a picture the subject of which was Christ rising from the sepulchre, with soldiers standing around the tomb and two little Angels, the heads

* Ansano, not Ansaldo.

[34] These frescoes are still in place. They were begun in 1518 and the Assumption was not finished until 1532. The figures in the corners are St. Louis, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Francis, and St. Bernard, which is not by Bazzi. In these frescoes Giovanni has attempted to be monumental, and has succeeded in obtaining a certain impressiveness and an *ensemble* which is thoroughly characteristic of the amplification that art had received in the beginning of the sixteenth century, but these figures are lacking in construction, still more are they lacking in subtlety of drawing. They look exactly like figures in old tapestries which have been stretched and pulled and hauled until not one line in face or figure is correct.

[35] The *Sala del Gran Consiglio* or *Mappamondo*.

[36] These admirable figures (see especially the St. Victor) have all the qualities which belong to those in San Bernardino and most of the qualities which are lacking in the latter. The grave and beautiful warrior saints are constructed, drawn, and modelled with seriousness and skill, and they are noble in expression as well. The San Benedetto is also admirable. If Bazzi had always worked as earnestly as he did upon these figures, few painters would have equalled him. These frescoes were finished in 1534.

of which are considered exceedingly beautiful.[37] Over a door in the same building is a figure of Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, and two Saints beside her, also painted in fresco by Giovan Antonio.[38]

In the church of Santo Spirito, Bazzi painted the chapel of San Jacopo, which he did by commission from men of the Spanish nation[39] who had their place of burial in that chapel, the subject selected was the Madonna depicted after the ancient manner,[40] and having on her right hand San Niccolo da Tolentino, with the archangel San Michele, who is slaying Lucifer, on the left. In the lunette above these figures is Our Lady clothing one of the saints in the sacerdotal habit, and surrounded by numerous angels. On the ceiling over these works, which are on panel and in oil, Giovan Antonio painted in fresco a figure of San Jacopo,[41] armed, and on a horse which is rapidly hastening forwards; the saint holds his sword boldly brandished in his hand, and beneath him are lying many Turks, some dead and others wounded.

Beneath these pictures and beside the altar of the same chapel, are Sant' Antonio the abbot, and a figure of San Sebastiano bound naked to the column; they are in fresco, and are considered very good works.

[37] This fresco, painted in 1535, is still in the Palace.

[38] Still *in situ*.

[39] Armenini, the author of the *Veri Precette della Pittura*, relates the following anecdote of Bazzi, which he assures us was told him by an old man who had been an intimate friend of the painter. Giovanni was affronted by a Spanish guard, and being unable to obtain satisfaction as the soldier was surrounded by insolent companions, the painter looked attentively at him, and on reaching home made a portrait sketch of him from memory. He then presented a complaint to the Spanish prince in command of the garrison; the offender was easily recognized by means of the picture and duly punished, while Bazzi obtained the favor and patronage of the commander and his friends.

[40] The figure of the Madonna was really ancient, and *not* by Bazzi.

[41] This figure of St. James on horseback (1530) has been much praised, but though it fills its space decoratively it is a poor affair in execution, slurred and careless, and is little to the credit of a master who was capable of far better work. The horse especially is singularly ill-drawn for the work of an artist, who was himself a sporting-man and a judge of horse-flesh.

In the cathedral[42] of the same city of Siena, and on the right hand as you enter the church, there is an altar-piece, painted in oil by the hand of Bazzi, in this we have the Madonna with the Divine Child on her knee; San Giuseppe is on one side, and San Calisto on the other; this work is also held to be a very beautiful one, and it is manifest that our artist gave much more attention to the colouring thereof than he usually bestowed on his paintings. For the Brotherhood of the Trinity he painted a very beautiful bier[43] whereon they bear their dead to the burial, with one for the Company of Death, which is considered to be the handsomest bier in Siena:[44] nay, I am even of opinion that it is the most beautiful one that can be found, not only because the work is one which of itself is truly admirable and worthy of praise, but also because things of that kind are rarely executed at much cost or with any great care.

In the chapel of Santa Caterina of Siena, in the church of San Domenico in that city, Giovan Antonio painted two stories, being one on each side of a tabernacle wherein is the head of the above-named Santa Caterina executed in silver. That on the right side of the tabernacle[45] exhibits the saint when she is receiving the Stigmata from Our Saviour Christ, who is seen in the air above, she lying fainting in the arms of two of the Sisterhood who support

[42] This painting, once over the altar of San Calisto, is now in the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico.

[43] This bier is preserved in the sacristy of the church of San Donato. Some critics believe that it was painted by Beccafumi or Marco da Siena.

[44] This really beautiful work has been sawn apart, and the four pictures are now shown in the church of the lay brothers of San Giovanni and San Gennaro. It was finished in 1527.

[45] This is one of those relatively rare works which give to Soddoma a very high rank as a *complete* artist, and not merely as an artist of phenomenal temperament. He has treated a very difficult subject not only with charm but with skill and thought, adding to his natural suavity a care in the grouping of the three lovely heads, in the arrangement of the draperies, and in the rendering of the latter which is not often found in his works. As for the spiritual side of the picture, it may be said that the poignant delights of mysticism were never more adequately interpreted.

her. The Sienese painter Baldassare Petrucci,[46] examining this work, declared that he had never seen the figures of persons fainting depicted with more truth and perfection by any artist than by Giovan Antonio. And of a truth he had reason to say so, as may be seen not only in the painting itself, but also in the design for the same by the hand of Bazzi, which we have in our book of drawings.[47]

In the second story, that standing to the left of the above-mentioned tabernacle, is depicted a certain event of the Saint's life, the Angel of God namely bearing to her the host of the most holy communion ; she, raising her head, beholds Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary in the air above her, while two of the Sisterhood stand in attendance behind. Another picture on the wall to the right is the story of a criminal [48] in the act of being led to his decapitation ; and this man, refusing to be converted and despairing of the mercy of God, will not recommend himself to his Creator, when that holy Saint praying for him on her knees, her orisons were so acceptable to God, that on the head of the criminal being struck off, his soul was seen to ascend into heaven. So greatly may avail with the mercy of God the prayers of those holy persons who are truly in his grace.

In this story there is a vast number of persons represented, but if they are not of the highest perfection, no man need marvel at that, since I have heard it affirmed as a fact, that the idleness and negligence of Giovan Antonio had reached to such a point as to prevent him from ever making either designs or cartoons when he had a work of this kind to execute, he drawing with his pencil immediately on the fresh intonaco (a most extraordinary thing), and in this manner it is that he appears to have treated the

[46] Peruzzi rather.

[47] In the Uffizi there is a pen drawing of this picture ; on one of the pilasters in the background is the date 1526, which could formerly be seen in the painting.

[48] A notorious brigand named Tuldo. The composition is dramatic but confused in arrangement

picture in question.[49] The same artist painted a figure of the Almighty Father,[50] in the arch which forms the entrance to the above-named chapel, but the remaining stories were not finished by himself, a circumstance principally attributable to his idleness, he not choosing to work except by fits and starts, but partly also to the fact that he could not obtain payment from those who had caused that chapel to be thus decorated.[51] Beneath the stories above described is a picture by the same artist, representing God the Father ; and in the lower part is a Madonna after the old manner, with San Domenico, San Gismondo, San Sebastiano, and Santa Caterina.[52]

In the church of Sant' Agostino, and to the right of the entrance, Giovan Antonio painted an Adoration of the Magi, which has ever been considered a good work, as it well deserves to be.[53] For, to say nothing of the figure of Our Lady, which is highly extolled, as are the first of the three Magi and certain of the horses, there is the head of a Shepherd, seen between two trees, which does truly appear to be alive.

Over that gate of the city called San Viene,[54] our artist painted the Nativity of Jesus Christ, with angels in the air above : this is a fresco, and is depicted within a large tabernacle. Among the angels is one, a foreshortened figure of extraordinary beauty and relief, who is pointing to the Saviour as if he would show to all men the Word made Flesh. In this work Giovan Antonio has placed his

[49] The drawing has every appearance of having been done with as little forethought as is implied by Vasari.

[50] It was destroyed by the effects of the earthquake of 1798.

[51] All these frescoes are *in situ*. Francesco Vanni finished the "remaining stories" in 1593.

[52] To-day nothing is known of these frescoes, see Milanesi, VI., p. 395, note 4.

[53] This picture, painted in 1536, is still in Sant' Agostino.

[54] So called from the cries of the people, "*Il Santo viene !*" when the body of Sant' Ansano, now the patron of Siena, was brought through it into the town. This gate is generally known as the Porta Pispini, and is a fine specimen of mediæval work.

own portrait, wearing his beard, he having now become old; he has a pencil in his hand, the point of which is directed towards a scroll whereon is the word *Feci*.[55]

In the chapel of the Commune, on the Piazza wherein stands the Palazzo Pubblico at Siena, Giovan Antonio painted a fresco, the subject of which is Our Lady, with the Divine Child in her arms, and surrounded by numerous angels; the Madonna is accompanied by Sant' Ansano, San Vittorio, Sant' Agostino, and San Jacopo; while in the lunette above, which is of a triangular form, is the figure of the Almighty Father, with angels around him, by the same hand.[56] But in the work here in question it becomes apparent that this man had begun, even when he commenced it, to have scarcely any love for his art remaining, having lost a certain something of good and praiseworthy in manner which he had possessed in his younger days, and by means whereof he gave an air of grace to his heads, which made them lovely and attractive. And that this is true, may be proved by the examination of certain works which he executed long before the one now before us, at the Postierla, and which may still be seen: they are in fresco, on a wall over the door of the Captain Lorenzo Mariscotti, where there is a figure of the Dead Christ lying in the lap of his Virgin Mother, which has a grace, beauty, and divinity that are truly wonderful.[57]

A picture of the Madonna, which Giovan Antonio painted in oil for Messer Eneas Savini of the Costerella,[58] presents further proof of what is here said, as does another on cloth, which he executed for Assuero Rettori, of San Martino, the

[55] In the spring of 1892 part of this fresco was still visible but much defaced. The portrait of Bazzi disappeared years ago. The scroll did not contain the word *Feci*, but rather *Fac tu*, which, as Milanesi has remarked, VI., p. 395, note 6, corresponds to Brunelleschi's and Donatello's "*Fanne uno tu*" (make one like it for yourself).

[56] Still in the little chapel of the Commune adjoining the Palazzo Pubblico This fresco was ordered in 1537.

[57] This fresco is still on the *façade* of the *casa* Bambagini.

[58] This picture was sold by the widow of the last Savini to a foreigner.

subject of the last being the Roman Lucrezia, who inflicts on herself the mortal wound: she is supported by her father and husband: this is a work wherein there is much grace in the attitudes, with infinite beauty in the heads.[59]

Ultimately Giovan Antonio perceived that the hearts of the Sienese were entirely turned to the excellence in art, and other admirable qualities of Domenico Beccafumi, and having neither house[60] nor income at Siena, nay, having consumed almost all that he possessed, while he was then become old as well as poor, he departed from the city almost in despair, and betook himself to Volterra. There, as his good fortune would have it, he found Messer Lorenzo da Galeotto de' Medici, a rich and much respected gentleman, with whom he took shelter, in the hope of remaining with him for a very long time. Thus dwelling in the house of Messer Lorenzo, he painted a picture on cloth for that noble, the subject selected being the Chariot of the Sun, which, having been unskilfully guided by Phaeton, falls into the River Po. But it is perfectly easy to see that the artist worked for his amusement only, and that the painting was executed by mere facility of hand, no thought having been given to any part of it; so insignificant and ill-considered is the whole performance.[61]

Accustomed to a life of freedom, Giovan Antonio became weary after a time of remaining in the house of Messer

[59] There is a Lucretia at Turin, but painted in Bazzi's early manner.

[60] Bazzi owned two houses in Siena; one of them formed a part of his wife's dower and he bought another in 1534.

Vasari was a warm partisan of Beccafumi, the rival of Bazzi. This Domenico Beccafumi has deservedly left a far less famous name than that of Giovan Antonio Bazzi, but his designs for the pavement of the Duomo of Siena were admirable, as were also some of his bronzes, and his best works in painting must have seemed much more serious to the Sienese than some of Bazzi's later and hastier works. Certain paintings by Beccafumi, still in a state of astonishing preservation, are sufficiently like Vasari's own work to account for the latter's admiration for his performances.

[61] Nothing is known about this picture, but there is a Deposition from the Cross in the cathedral of Volterra by Bazzi. Milanesi greatly praises the landscape in the same.

Lorenzo, and his abode in Volterra having also become distasteful to him, he departed thence, and proceeded to Pisa, where he was commissioned to execute two pictures for the Duomo, by the intervention of Battista del Cervelliera with Messer Bastiano della Seta, Warden of that cathedral; these works were placed in the Apsis, behind the high altar, and beside those executed by Sogliani and Beccafumi.

The first of these pictures represents the Dead Christ, with Our Lady and the other Maries; and in the second is the Patriarch Abraham, proceeding to sacrifice his son Isaac.[62] But as they were found to be of no great merit, the Warden, who had designed to entrust other pictures for the same church to Giovan Antonio, dismissed him, knowing well that men who do not study, having once arrived at old age, are liable to lose that certain something of good wherewith they had been endowed by Nature, and when that is lost, the manner remaining, with such facility of hand as may be left to them, is for the most part but little to be commended.

About the same time Giovan Antonio completed a picture in oil, which he had previously commenced for the church of Santa Maria della Spina, and here he depicted Our Lady, with the Infant Christ in her arms, Santa Maria Maddalena and Santa Caterina being on their knees before her, while San Giovanni, San Bastiano, and San Giuseppe stand upright and at each side of the Madonna. In all the figures of this work, Giovan Antonio acquitted himself much more creditably than he had done in those of the Duomo.[63]

Having then nothing more to do at Pisa, he left that city, repairing to Lucca, and in San Ponziano, a monastery belonging to the monks of Monte Oliveto, he received a commission from the abbot, who was a person of his acquaintance, to paint a picture of Our Lady on a staircase which

[62] These pictures are still in the cathedral of Pisa; they were paid for in 1542. The French found the Sacrifice of Abraham good enough to warrant its being carried to Paris in 1811, where it remained three years.

[63] This picture, executed in 1542, is now in the Academy at Pisa.

forms the ascent to the dormitory. That work being completed, Giovan Antonio returned to Siena, weary, old, and poor; but he did not long survive his arrival in that city: falling sick, and having no one to take care of him, nor any means wherewith to procure needful attendance, he took refuge in the great hospital, where he finished the course of his life in a very few weeks.

While Giovan Antonio was still young and in good repute, he had taken a wife in Siena, the young woman being the daughter of very honest and respectable parents. In the first year of his marriage he became the father of a little girl, but his wife, being weary of the follies committed by this man, at length refused to live with him.[64] Withdrawing herself wholly from her husband therefore, she supported her child by her labour, and on the interest of her dowry, after having long borne with infinite patience the brutalities and absurdities of Giovan Antonio, who was truly worthy of that name of Mattaccio, or Arch-fool, which was given to him, as we have said, by the fathers of Monte Oliveto.

The Sienese Riccio,[65] a tolerably able and experienced painter, who was a disciple of Giovan Antonio, took the daughter of his master, who had been very carefully and respectably brought up by her mother, for his wife, and became heir to all that his father-in-law had left in matters of art. This Riccio has produced many commendable works in Siena and elsewhere; in the cathedral for ex-

[64] Bazzi seems to have spent the last years of his life in retirement at Siena with his family. Vasari's statement, that his wife was separated from him is unsupported by documentary evidence. We know that in 1531 and in 1541 she was living with him, and we have no proof that she ever left him. See Milanesi, VI., p. 399, note 1. Her name was Beatrice di Luca (called "de Galli"), and she was the daughter of the host of the Corona tavern. Two children were born to the couple and were given sonorous names. Apelles died young; Faustina married the successful Riccio, her father's pupil. Everything tends to disprove Vasari's story of unhappy married life and neglected old age.

[65] The principal scholars of Bazzi were Lorenzo, called "il Rustico," Matteo Balducci, Giacomo Magagni, or Giomo del Soddoma, Bartolommeo Veroni, called "il Riccio," and Giovanni Maria Tucci.

ample there is a chapel to the left as you enter the church, decorated with paintings and stucco-work, by his hand. He is now in Lucca, where he has already executed many excellent works, and continues to do so.

There was also a disciple of Bazzi who was called Giomo del Mattaccio, but as he died young and could give but slight evidence of his genius and acquirements, it does not need that I should speak of him further.

Giovan Antonio died in the year 1554, when he had attained his seventy-fifth year.[66] [67] [68]

[66] Bazzi died on the 14th of February, 1549, at the age of seventy-two.

[67] The portrait, a full-length of Bazzi, is at Monte Oliveto, see notes 13, 14, and 20. Psychologically this portrait is one of unusual interest, and though the artistic treatment of it is somewhat summary, the characterization is subtle. Nature wrote wag in capital letters on this face, with its large, rather coarse features and its roguish expression.

[68] Considered from the point of view of technique pure and simple, Giovan Antonio Bazzi was unequal as draughtsman and colorist, indifferent as composer. He *could* draw excellently but rarely *did*; his heads are a souvenir of Leonardo's people, with a strong added personality of Bazzi's own; as to their bodies his figures often look as if some of Raphael's frescoed men and women had been painted with so liquid a medium that they had *spread* upon the walls, passed beyond their outlines, until they seemed boneless and gelatinous.

Other figures (see some of those at Monte Oliveto and in the Palazzo Pubblico), without having the Florentine hardness of contour, appear rather like Milanese work and are agreeably firm in silhouette, yet are not dry or "cut out." His color is sometimes warm and transparent, sometimes distinguished, as in the "Swooning of St. Catherine," sometimes monochromatic, as in the "St. Sebastian," but never absolutely disagreeable.

He had little capacity as a composer of groups and was most at home when he had but one or two figures to deal with.

M. Müntz, *La Fin de la Renaissance* (p. 533), says that justice will not be done to this master until he has been placed near Correggio, indeed immediately by his side (*immédiatement a côté de lui*). It is very rarely that one takes issue with the enlightened criticism of the author of the History of the Renaissance, but in this case it is impossible to accept his *dictum*. Great as he is, Bazzi, if placed by the side of Correggio, stands on a far lower plane. Charm he has, and style to an extraordinary degree, but where in his work is there any masterliness to be compared with that shown by Correggio in his Cupola of Parma or his St. Jerome? One is a discoverer and a creator, the other a most gifted and inventive Master of the Revels, who can amuse and fascinate and delight, but to whom the divine *afflatus* is denied. The same charm of personality, of abandon, of naturalness which subjugated the Sienese is potent over the critic who attempts to analyze the works of the

fantastic Lombard. Bazzi reminds one of the old tale of the prince to whom all good things were given, and yet whose career was spoiled by the malicious gift of one wicked fairy. No painter was more richly dowered by nature; facility, elegance, sweetness were his, a keen and delicate feeling for grace of line and beauty of feature, remarkable powers of assimilation and a fertile fancy; occasionally he attained distinction, and he rarely, even in his most careless moments, lacked style. But all these great qualities were obscured by one fatal defect—frivolity. There is no better example of how much and how little temperament can do for an artist, or what painting becomes when it is divorced from hard thinking and laborious study. The absence of the appearance of effort, which is such a different thing from the actual absence of effort, is replaced in his work by a slovenliness that is the more irritating because we feel that it is wilful negligence. Every one of his more ambitious pictures manifests carelessness or lassitude in some particular. His finest performances are his single figures (the St. Victor, the St. Bernard, the St. Sebastian); he lacked the mental coherence, the capacity for intellectual tension, which are indispensable for the planning and execution of large compositions, and though pathos and poetic feeling were within his scope he was wanting in elevation of thought, and, above all, in conviction. Yet when all these reserves are made, when we have recovered from the annoyance produced by the wanton neglect of splendid gifts, how much remains to delight us in Bazzi's work. His sense of humor, a rare quality and one that is almost incompatible with intense convictions, which enlivens the frescoes of Monte Oliveto, his capacity for characterization, his vitality, the diversity and suppleness of his genius, are all potent factors in the sum of our pleasure; the greatest of these is doubtless his sentiment for physical beauty, above all the beauty of youth, of girls and adolescents. Who can forget the undulating lines of his dancers' slender bodies; or the morbid sweetness of the swooning Catherine, or the lovely cowering figure of Eve, or the coy, almost simpering, but altogether bewitching Roxana? Equally persistent in the memory are the figures of the young warriors, Alexander and St. Victor, the beautiful Hymen of the Farnesina villa, the transpierced St. Sebastian, the charming boys in the St. Benedict cycle. Bazzi's feminine ideal was derived from Leonardo's; less distinguished, it is more seductive; less noble than the subtle Madonnas of Luini, it is more captivating. An oval face with languishing eyes, an over-ripe curved mouth, the upper lip much fuller than the lower one, a delicate nose, slightly *retroussé*, a softly rounded chin, a slender, long-limbed body, such was Giovan Antonio's type. Add to it those *arie di testa* which Vasari admired, sometimes an air of dreamy voluptuousness which is as far removed from coarseness as it is from severity; again, a pathos and tenderness that suggest the influence of Perugino, and a quality of youth and freshness, something dawn-like and spring-like, and you have the ideal that took Siena by storm. Naturally this sweetness often degenerates into insipidity or becomes cloying; mere loveliness cannot atone for the lack of nobility any more than facility and fertility of invention can replace high thought and strenuous endeavor; but, after all, to analyze the faults of this alluring genius is almost as destructive to the fine edge of the critical spirit as to study the physical defects of a beautiful person.

JACOPO ROBUSTI, CALLED IL TINTORETTO[1]

[Born 1518 (?); died 1594.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—C. Ridolfi, *Vita di G. Robusti*, Venice, 1642. L. Davesies, *Le Tintoret, Paul Véronèse et leur École. Lacroix, Revue des Arts*, XV., p. 361, Brussels, 1862. P. Mantz, *Tintoret et Véronèse, L'Artiste*, IV., p. 340, Paris, 1869. Galanti, *Il Tintoretto*, published in the *Atti della R. Accademia di Belle Arti in Venezia*, 1876. H. Janitschek, *Tintoretto*, in the Dohme Series of *Kunst und Künstler*, 1876. W. R. Osler, Tintoretto, London, 1879. *Fasti Gonzagheschi dipinti dal Tintoretto, Nuovi Documenti*, published by A. Luzio in *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, III., p. 397. M. Pratesi, *I grandi pittori veneti del Cinquecento, Jacopo Tintoretto*. Frank Preston Stearns, Life and Genius of Jacopo Robusti, called Tintoretto, New York, 1894. Bernhard Berenson, The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance, New York, 1895 (this work gives a catalogue of the works by Tintoretto). Morelli says in his Italian Painters that Professor Justi in his work Velasquez and his Times, of which an English edition has been published, has given a fairer criticism of Tintoretto than any art-historian before him has done. The poetical and literary side of Tintoretto appealed so strongly to the great poet and word-painter, Mr. John Ruskin, that passages of his Stones of Venice and Modern Painters are a running commentary so magnificent that not infrequently the canvases of Robusti are surpassed by the word-painting of the writer. Mr. Ruskin's Oxford lecture upon the relations between Michael Angelo and Tintoret has also been published. Vasari's Life of Tintoretto, like those of Carpaccio and Veronese, is included in a chapter composed of brief notes on various painters. Except in a few instances Vasari wrote only the lives of men who were no longer living, and in the case of his living contemporaries his treatment takes the form rather of a catalogue or notice than of a biography.

IN the city of Venice, there lived and does yet live,[2] a painter called Jacopo Tintoretto, who is a great lover of all the arts, and more particularly delights in playing on various musical instruments; he is besides a very agreeable person, which is proved in all his modes of

[1] Jacopo di Battista Robusti, called Il Tintoretto, was born in Venice in 1518 (Milanesi says 1512). His father was a dyer, and the name Tintoretto means simply the "little dyer."

[2] Tintoretto married Faustina de Vescovi, the daughter of a nobleman and had

proceeding ;[3] but as to the matter of painting, he may be said to possess the most singular, capricious, and determined hand, with the boldest, most extravagant, and obstinate brain, that has ever yet belonged to the domain of that art. Of this there is sufficient proof in his works, and in the fantastic composition of his stories, which are altogether different from and contrary to the usages of other painters ; nay, he has been more than ever extravagant in some of his more recent inventions, and in those strange caprices of his fancy, which he has executed almost as it were by hap-hazard and without design ; insomuch that one might suppose, he well nigh desired to show that the art is but a jest. He will sometimes present as finished, sketches which are such mere outlines, that the spectator sees before him pencil marks made by chance, the results of a bold carelessness rather than the fruits of design and of a well-considered judgment.

This artist has painted every kind of picture,[4] whether in

several children by her. Domenico (1562–1637), the eldest son, became a painter. Marietta, the eldest daughter, was beautiful, accomplished, and also a painter of talent ; it is said that until she was fifteen years old she worked in her father's studio dressed as a boy ; she married one Mario Augusta, a goldsmith, and died young, in 1590. Ridolfi tells us much of Tintoretto, who seems to have been a sturdy Venetian burgess, a true artist, caring far more about his art than about the outside world. He hardly left Venice during his whole life, and was devotedly attached to his home ; his house, a Palazzo called the Camello, still exists in the Calle Larga. Ridolfi shows him to us as laconic, hardworking to the extent of being called *il furioso*, but loving to play the lute, not disdaining to design theatrical costumes for his friends, and averring, in spite of the facile rapidity with which he covered enormous canvases, that the more a man learned the more difficult his art seemed to him.

[3] Tintoretto is said to have tamed the dreaded Aretino whose sting even princes feared (if we may believe Aretino himself). The story is that the latter was sitting to Tintoretto for his portrait, when the artist rose, and advancing toward Aretino, suddenly drew a large pistol (or dagger) from under his doublet. Pietro, whose conscience was probably not too easy, started back, but Jacopo, quietly applying the weapon as a measure, said, "You stand just two pistols and a half high." It will be remembered that the Renaissance pistol was almost as long as a small arquebuse. Tradition says that Aretino was quick to learn the lesson, and that he treated Jacopo more courteously forever afterward.

[4] According to Ridolfi, Tintoretto began to study in the *bottega* of Titian,

fresco or oil, with portraits taken from the life also, and he executes works of all prices, in such sort that in this manner of his he has undertaken, and does undertake, the greater part of the pictures painted in Venice. It is to be observed, too, that in his youth Tintoretto had proved himself to possess great ability by the execution of many excellent pictures,[5] insomuch that if he had properly used the advantages which he derived from nature, and had judiciously cultivated them by study, as those have done who have pursued the beautiful manner of his predecessors, and not depended on mere facility of hand as he has permitted himself to do, he would have been one of the best masters that Venice has ever possessed. Nor, proceeding

where he produced drawings so excellent that the master became jealous and refused to keep him as pupil. This otherwise unreasonable story may possibly have some grounds in the incompatibility of Titian's and Tintoretto's methods. The judgment of the former master seems to have been less favorable to Tintoretto than to Veronese in cases of competition for orders, etc., but this was only natural and right. Titian sympathized with, and selected Veronese, the man whose work was certain to be adequate, and might be masterly, rather than Robusti, the painter whose canvas might prove a *chef-d'œuvre*, or, on the other hand, might fall far below the average of his capacity. Tintoretto, Ridolfi tells us, did not fail in his admiration for the master who would not have him among his pupils; he placed upon his house-walls the words "*Il disegno di Michelangelo il colorito di Tiziano*," and obtaining some models by Daniele of Volterra made from Michelangelo's figures in the San Lorenzo Sacristy of Florence (the Night, Day, etc.) he studied them assiduously. He made many *bozzetti* in wax and clay for his own use, then placing them in boxes, introduced a lighted candle among them and thus studied chiaroscuro, "often working far into the night." His pictures throughout his career showed the direct influence of this method of study. Mr. Berenson (Venetian Painters) sets down Tintoretto as possibly a pupil of Bonifazio Veronese, and like Paolo Caliari, he seems to have been somewhat influenced by Parmigianino.

[5] Tintoretto's first success was characteristic of the man's general bent; it was a lamplight effect, a portrait of himself with a statuette in his hand, and of his brother playing a guitar. It was shown in the Merceria, where the young artists of the time seem to have established a sort of *al-fresco* salon. He next offered his services gratis to Schiavone to learn his methods This readiness of Jacopo to work for a little price, or for no price at all, very naturally scandalized his *confrères* and somewhat disturbed his wife's housekeeping calculations; but this "boldest and most obstinate brain" had thought out the matter for itself, and the man who did not fear Aretino cared little for minor critics, professional or domestic.

as we have said, does even this prevent him from being a bold and clever artist, of a most sprightly mind, a vivid fancy, and pleasing cheerful manner.

When therefore the Venetian Senate had commanded that Jacopo Tintoretto, and Paolo Veronese, then a youth of whom high expectations were entertained, should each paint a picture for the Hall of the Council, while Orazio, the son of Titian, was also commissioned to execute another, Tintoretto depicted a story of Frederick Barbarossa crowned by the Pope; he represented the ceremony as taking place within a magnificent building, while around the Pontiff is a large number of cardinals and nobles of Venice, all portraits from the life; beneath these figures are seen the musical band of the Pope. In all this he acquitted himself in such a manner, that his work may bear comparison with those of the other masters, not excepting that of the above-named Orazio, the son of Titian.

The subject of the picture painted by the last-mentioned artist was a Battle fought at Rome, and near the Castello Sant' Angelo, on the banks of the Tiber, by the Germans of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa on the one part, and the Romans on the other; and in this, among other things, is to be observed the foreshortened figure of a horse, which is leaping over a soldier in full armour. It is a group that may be truly called most beautiful; but some affirm that Orazio was assisted in the work by Titian his father. Near the picture of Orazio is that by Paolo Veronese, of whom we have made mention in the Life of Michele San Michele, and who in his work represented the same Federigo Barbarossa appearing at Court to kiss the hand of the Pope Ottaviano, as in contempt of Pope Alexander III. In addition to this picture, which is a very beautiful one, the same Paolo painted four large figures over a window; they represent Time; Concord or Union, holding a bundle of rods; with Patience and Faith; and in all these figures he acquitted himself so well that too much could not be said of their merit.

No long time after the completion of these works, another picture being required for the same Hall, Tintoretto took such steps, by the intervention of friends and other means, that the commission to execute the work was given to him, when he completed it in a manner that was most admirable; and this picture merits to be enumerated among the best he ever executed: so powerful in this artist was the will with which he then set himself to equal, if not to surpass, such of his competitors as had also laboured in that place. And the subject of the work which he thus depicted, (to the end that the same may be recognized, even by those who are not of the art,) was Pope Alexander excommunicating Barbarossa and laying his dominions under the interdict, with the same Barbarossa, who nevertheless emboldens his people to refuse all further obedience to the papal mandate.

Among other singular things in this picture may be remarked as beautifully executed, the part where Pope and Cardinals are seen casting candles and flaming torches from a high place, as is ever done when any one is excommunicated, while a vast crowd of nude figures are seen below struggling and fighting to obtain those torches: all which is rendered in the most admirable manner. There are besides various relics of antiquity, as pedestals and other objects, with portraits of different gentlemen dispersed over the pictures; these last are extremely well done, and the work is altogether such as to have won grace and favour for Tintoretto from all who have seen it.[6]

[6] The pictures mentioned by Vasari were destroyed in the fires of 1574 and 1577, but after these disasters the *sale* were restored and decorated by Veronese, Tintoretto, and a whole company of painters. The volume of Tintoretto's work in the Ducal Palace is, as elsewhere, so great, that even a catalogue of the same is fatiguing. Mr. Berenson, in his Venetian Painters, admits twenty-three authentic works as being in the palace, and some other authors present still longer lists. Among these pictures are the famous Paradise, the four works in the *Anticollegio*, see note 23, and a number of portraits. Many of Tintoretto's portraits are very fine, although not infrequently the haste with which they were painted has given them not so much the look of having been dashingly executed as a certain appearance of lack of solidity.

It followed in consequence that this artist received a commission for two paintings in oil, to be placed beneath the work of Pordenone in the principal chapel of the Church of San Rocco ; these were to be of extent equal to the entire width of the chapel, about twelve braccia each that is to say. In one of these our artist painted a perspective view, as of a large hospital filled with beds, wherein the sick, who are receiving medical attendance from San Rocco, are lying in various attitudes : among these are certain nude figures which are very well done, with a dead body foreshortened, which is most admirable. In another is a story, also from the life of San Rocco, in which there are many very beautiful and graceful figures ; the work is so good a one, in short, that it is accounted to be one of the best ever executed by that painter. In the centre of the above-named Church, moreover, there is a picture of almost equal size with those before mentioned, and likewise by the hand of Tintoretto. This represents our Saviour Christ healing the Sick at the Pool of Bethesda, and is a work which is also considered to be an extremely good one.[7]

For the Church of Santa Maria dell' Orto, where the Brescian painters, Cristofano and his brother painted the ceiling as I have before related, Tintoretto executed the decorations of two walls, which will be found in the principal chapel ; they are in oil, on cloth, and extend from the cornice above the seats, even to the ceiling, a height of twenty braccia that is to say. The picture on the right represents Moses returning from the Mount, where he has received the Laws from the hand of God, when he finds the people adoring the golden calf : and that on the left exhibits the Universal Judgment at the last day ; the latter, an extravagant invention, which is truly fearful and terrible, in its diversity of figures which are of each sex and every

The Louvre and Uffizi claim to have portraits of himself painted by his own hand, and Veronese more than once introduced the head of Tintoretto in his (Paolo's) pictures.

[7] These works are still in the church, with others by Tintoretto not mentioned by Vasari.

age; the souls of the condemned, as well as of the blessed, are beheld in various parts in the distance.[8] The boat of Charon is likewise depicted in this work, but in a manner altogether different from that of those usually seen, and of a beautiful as well as unusual form. Indeed had this fanciful invention been executed after a correct and well-regulated design, and if the painter had given due attention to each part and to all the details, as he has to the general whole, this picture, expressing the amazement, terror, and confusion of that day, would have been a most wonderful production. He who does but glance at it for a moment is even now astonished at the power displayed; but if it be examined minutely, the work has all the appearance of having been painted as a jest.

For the same church, on the doors which close the organ that is to say, Tintoretto painted Our Lady ascending the steps of the Temple; this work, which is in oil, is the most carefully executed, most delicately finished, and most cheerful looking picture to be found in all the church.[9] Our artist likewise painted the doors of the organ in Santa

[8] Tintoretto is said to have offered to paint the two pictures of the choir, each some fifty feet high, for the cost of his materials; the order was given in 1546, and he eventually received a gratuity and the further order to paint the organ-case; the paintings upon the latter were the Martyrdom of St. Christopher, and Angels bringing the cross to St. Peter (these works are now near the high altar); also the Presentation of the Virgin (now in a chapel of the left aisle); see note 9. The Last Judgment, a powerful work hastily painted, and in which the color has greatly changed and suffered, has been the subject of so magnificent a rhapsody by Mr. Ruskin that the picture itself is an anti-climax. The Golden Calf has also been sadly injured by time and "restoration;" here the women are half-sisters to the Delfica and Libica of the Sistina, and some of their movements, as they turn their great *torsi* toward the idol, or raise their arms are truly magnificent. A picture which is painted in Tintoretto's "golden manner" is the Miracle of Saint Agnes, in this same church of the Madonna dell' Orto. It recalls Veronese, but nothing by Paolo is so solemnly glowing; in certain lights and at certain hours it seems incandescent.

[9] In this Presentation the staircase is too important for the figures. The color has bloomed and changed till all of the left of the canvas is now rather weird and ghostly than "cheerful;" nevertheless the beauty of the women seated upon the steps, or ascending, makes this picture one of Tintoretto's most pleasing works.

Maria Sebenigo ;[10] the subject of that work was the Conversion of St. Paul, but it was not executed with much care.[11] In the Carità is a Deposition from the Cross by the same hand ;[12] and in the Sacristy of San Sebastiano, Tintoretto painted Moses in the Wilderness, with other stories on the presses of that place ;[13] this he did in competition with Paolo of Verona, who executed numerous pictures on the ceiling and walls of the church. The works thus commenced were continued at a subsequent period, by the Venetian painter Natalino,[14] and by others.

In the church of San Jobbe, Tintoretto painted the three Maries, with San Francesco, San Sebastiano, and San Giovanni, as he did a Landscape at the altar of the Pietà ;[15] and on the doors of the organ in the church of the Servites he depicted figures of Sant' Agostino and San Filippo, with Cain slaying his brother Abel beneath.[16] At the altar of the Sacrament in the Church of San Felice, in the ceiling of the Tribune that is to say, Tintoretto painted the four Evangelists, and in the Lunette over the altar he depicted an Annunciation. On another Lunette in the same place, he represented our Saviour Christ in Prayer on the Mount of Olives ; and on the wall is the Last Supper of our Lord with his Disciples,[17] by the same hand. In San Francesco

[10] Called also Zebenico and Zobenigo.

[11] At present the church of Santa Maria Zobenigo does not contain the work referred to. But another picture by Tintoretto, Christ descending to Saints Justina and Augustine, who kneel upon the sea-shore, is a harmonious picture, agreeable in color and possessing much quiet dignity.

[12] This picture is lost. The Carità is now the Academy of Fine Arts, at least the Academy is built on the site, and somewhat of the old convent remains.

[13] These works are lost.

[14] Natalino da Murano.

[15] Vasari's memory appears to fail him here; he was probably thinking of Bellini's picture of the same subject. Morelli, Italian Painters, I., p. 289, note 8, says Tintoretto's merit as a landscape painter may be especially well studied in the Colonna Gallery at Rome.

[16] There is a Death of Abel in the Academy. Milanesi, VI., p. 592, note 2, says that upon the doors of the organ of the church (now suppressed) were two saints and an Annunciation, but no Cain and Abel.

[17] In San Felice there is now a picture catalogued as a "St. Demetrius and a Suppliant of the Ghisi Family."

della Vigna this artist painted a Deposition from the Cross ; Our Lady is in a swoon, the other Maries stand around her, and there are also figures of certain Prophets.[18]

In the Scuola of San Marco near SS. Giovanni e Paolo are four large pictures by Tintoretto ; the first exhibits San Marco appearing in the air and delivering a man who was his votary from grievous torments, which an executioner is seen to be preparing for him ; but the irons which the tormenters are endeavouring to apply break short in their hands, and cannot be turned against that devout man. This picture exhibits a great number of figures, many well executed foreshortenings, much armour, with buildings, portraits from the life, and other objects of similar kind, which render the work one of infinite interest.[19] The second picture also displays the figure of San Marco as floating in the air, and delivering one of his votaries from peril ; the danger in this case has arisen from a storm at sea ; but the painting is not executed with the care perceptible in that previously named.

In the third picture is a torrent of rain, with the dead body of one who has in like manner been devoted to San Marco, and whose soul is seen to be ascending into heaven ; here also we have a composition, the figures of which are not without a fair share of merit. In the fourth painting, in which San Marco expels an unclean spirit, there is the

[18] This work is lost.

[19] The miracle of St. Mark is perhaps Tintoretto's masterpiece ; the middle of the picture is flooded with golden color as if a topaz had burst and showered everything with its flashing particles. The brilliant yet deep color, power of chiaroscuro, force of conception, a portrait-like character in the heads, and a solidity rare with Tintoretto, make this one of the finest pictures in Italy. It must, however, be admitted that for all its beautiful color there is a certain lack of atmosphere. It is claimed that the painter has introduced his own portrait three times in this picture, and that of the donor once, in the left-hand lower corner. A superb sketch for this work is in the Pinacoteca at Lucca ; the picture itself was the first great and triumphant success of Tintoretto, the work which proclaimed him a master. Mr. Timothy Cole in his note to his fine wood-engraving of this work in the Century Magazine says : "I invert my opera-glass and gaze at it through the larger end, and the painting, reduced to a miniature, blazes like an array of precious stones."

perspective view of an extensive Loggia, at the end whereof is a fire by which the Loggia is illuminated, and the reflections of that light fall on various parts of the edifice.[20] In addition to these stories, there is a figure of San Marco on one of the altars, by the hand of the same artist, and which is also a tolerably good painting.

These works, then—with many others which I leave undescribed, because it shall suffice me to have made mention of the best—have been executed by Tintoretto with such extraordinary promptitude that, while people had been supposing him to have only just begun, he had in fact finished his performance. It is to be furthermore remarked, that this artist always contrives by the most singular proceedings in the world to be constantly employed, seeing that when the good offices of his friends and other methods have failed to procure him any work of which there is question, he will nevertheless manage to obtain it, either by accepting it at a very low price, by doing it as a gift, or even seizing on it by force. An instance of this kind happened no long time since, when Tintoretto, having painted a large painting on cloth and in oil, representing the Crucifixion of Christ, for the Scuola of San Rocco,[21] the men of that Brotherhood then determined to have some magnificent and honourable work executed on the ceiling of the apartment, proposing moreover to give the commission for the same to such of the painters then in Venice as might be expected to do it in the best manner and after the most beautiful design.

They consequently sent for Giuseppo Salviati and Feder-

[20] The Finding of the Body of St. Mark at Alexandria is now in Sant' Angeli at Murano, the bringing of the Body to Venice, and St. Mark driving out the unclean Spirit are in the library of the Palazzo Reale at Venice (the old Nicene Library).

[21] This world-famous Crucifixion was completed in 1565, and is signed and dated. The composition is in places somewhat open and scattered, the picture is full of episodes, which if they detract from its concentration add to its movement and life, while the poignancy and power displayed in some of the figures belong only to Tintoretto among Venetian painters. Velasquez felt this power sufficiently in 1630 to take the time to make a special study of the picture, and the canvas has inspired a host of writers.

igo Zucchero, who were then in Venice, with Paolo Veronese and Jacopo Tintoretto, commanding that each of them should prepare a design, and promising that the work should be adjudged to him who should acquit himself the best. But while the other artists were giving themselves with all diligence to the preparation of their designs, Tintoretto made an exact measurement of the space for which the picture was required, and taking a large canvas, he painted it without saying a word to any one and with his usual celerity, putting it instantly up in the place destined to receive it. One morning, therefore, when the Brotherhood had assembled to see the designs and to determine the matter, they found that Tintoretto had entirely completed the work, nay, that he had fixed it in its place; whereupon, becoming very angry with him, and observing that they had required designs and had not commissioned him to do the work, Tintoretto replied that this was his method of preparing designs, that he did not know how to make them in any other manner; and that all designs and models for a work should be executed in that fashion, to the end that the persons interested might see what it was intended to offer them, and might not be deceived: he added, that if they did not think proper to pay for the work and remunerate him for his pains, he would make them a present of the same. At the last, therefore, though not without much opposition, he contrived so to manage matters, that the picture still retains its place.[22]

[22] The Scuola of the Company of San Rocco, most noted and richest of the confraternities of Venice, is a magnificent structure, finished in 1550, so that in it we have a building decorated with a series of contemporaneous paintings commenced in 1560 and continued for eighteen years. The halls are sumptuous with colored marble and wood carving and dazzling bursts of light come in through the windows, but between the windows all is dark, and that is where most of the pictures are placed. There are eight huge canvases in the lower hall, thirteen upon the walls of the upper hall, and twenty-one pictures upon the ceiling. A Visitation above the staircase is one of Tintoretto's best pictures. Before the vast series of canvases in San Rocco the first feeling which comes is a shock at the absence of any color beauty. Whether by chemical action of the pigment or natural action of the sea-damp

The subject of this painting is the Almighty Father descending with bands of Angels from Heaven to embrace San Rocco; and in the lowermost part of the picture are numerous figures, to represent or signify the other principal Schools or Companies of Venice; the Carità for example, that of San Giovanni Evangelista, the Misericordia, San Marco, and San Teodoro; all which was executed after the usual manner of Tintoretto. But since it would lead us too far, were we to describe all the works[23] performed by the

the color is often dull, even repulsive. To one coming from the light-filled pictures of Veronese at S. Sebastian, or of Tiepolo at the Carmine, these canvases of San Rocco seem smitten with leprosy, and to need all the good offices of the pilgrim saint who is patron of the Scuola. Here Tintoretto, a Venetian of Venetians, has wholly left out the greatest charm of the school—color—and one cannot help feeling that in spite of all allowances for change produced by time, Jacopo himself must to a certain extent be to blame for undue haste in painting, and for a cheap and vulgar alternation of pinks and blues in his original scheme. Still we must allow much for alteration; Tintoretto, even in the wildest fervor of productive enthusiasm, would never have tolerated the color which we see there now. Bad as it is, if you linger for hours in the Scuola, or return again and again you fall under the spell, not of the painter but of the inventor and poet; you feel the poignancy of a wonderfully poetic narration of the great drama of Christ's life, and gradually forget the repellent color to see that alternating with cheapness in some of the canvases there is grandeur of composition, in others weirdness and originality of expression such as has, perhaps, not been given to any other artist. All this applies to the paintings upon the walls; for the ceilings little can be said, the great canvas which Tintoretto (if we may believe the story) smuggled into its place, has ceased to interest, and the figures of the Brazen Serpent are almost as far from Jacopo's coveted "*disegno di Michelangelo*" as is its color from "*il colorito di Tiziano.*" The great Crucifixion in the smaller *sala* is assuredly one of Tintoretto's masterpieces, full of powerful and poignant passages, but it is scattered, it is not co-ordinated and solid as are the most skilful compositions of certain other great masters.

[23] The Bacchus and Ariadne, Minerva Driving Away Mars, The Graces, and The Forge of Vulcan, four pictures in the *Sala dell' Anti-Collegio* of the Ducal Palace were painted in 1578, as we know by a document which shows us Paolo Veronese and Palma Giovine acting as experts regarding the prices asked by Jacopo. These works are in his "silver manner," and Tintoretto's pictures certainly have the property of inducing conviction. That delicate and poetical critic and scholar, John Addington Symonds, says of the Bacchus and Ariadne that it is "if not the greatest, at any rate the most beautiful picture in existence." Few will agree with him wholly, but no one will accuse him of bad taste. Three of these pictures in the *Anticollegio* are a proof that where the *ensemble* is good everything is good, broad bars of

artist here in question, this shall be the close,[24] and we will content ourselves with having said thus much of Tintoretto,[25] who is certainly a very clever man and highly commendable painter.[26]

shadow cut across powerful figures and concentrate the effect wherever the painter pleases; he has based his whole work upon color, movement, and composition of light; has hardly thought about his modelling or his faces, the latter are generalized, the former is careless especially in the arms, legs, and feet; there are wide brown outlines about the flying figure against the sky, and we have Michelangelo in the movements with Michelangelo's understanding of the surface of the body left out. But the composition is beautiful and simple; the transparent quiet green tone is exquisite, and the flying goddesses seem to float in a subaqueous world or in the soft light of the Elysian fields. The lack of construction in the bodies, the commonplace character of the heads, with their bulging foreheads, depressed profiles, and retreating chins are concealed under a magic veil of tone and color, of light and shadow. The grace of feminine movement, the pulsation of life in smooth ivory limbs, the radiation of light from polished flesh has never been more adequately expressed. There is nothing mannered in the vigorous grace of these figures, theirs is that noble tranquillity which is something between the placidity of the animal and the serenity of the Olympian. Theirs is the enchanted world of Correggio's people, but they are healthier, more robust; they possess the joyous charm of Veronese's nobles but without their touch of worldliness, and they are perhaps the best examples of "*cette grâce virile et charmante qui distingue les talents forts lorsqu'ils ont à rendre des sujets suaves.*"

[24] The Paradiso, called the largest picture in the world, being thirty feet high by seventy-four feet long, and containing some five hundred figures, was a work of Tintoretto's old age, having been ordered in 1588, after the death of Veronese (and nearly forty years after the first edition of Vasari was published). It fills one entire end of the *Sala del Maggior Consiglio*, and covers the great fresco of Guariento's Paradise, which, cracked and blackened by the fire of 1577, is said to still exist beneath Tintoretto's picture. Jacopo commenced his work in the Scuola della Misericordia and finished it in position. Mr. Ruskin has no hesitation in declaring the Paradiso "by far the most precious work of art of any kind whatsoever in existence." Taine could only see in it a mass of figures whirling in a reddish light which seemed that of a conflagration. But Mr. Ruskin's explanation is the picture's condemnation; he says that "no one takes the trouble to read it." It is quite true that the painting contains beautiful passages, but taken as a whole it produces no effect, the eye wanders over the canvas unarrested, and the province of a work of art is to impress or delight at once, then to continue to delight and impress; our duty before it is to receive not to unravel.

[25] Tintoretto had few pupils; among them were his two sons, his daughter, Martin de Vos of Antwerp, Paolo Franceschi, and Odoardo Fuletti.

[26] Tintoretto at his best is a great poet; in his work of the second order he

remains a dramatic improvisatore, at his worst he is repellent, but is still an impetuous force. When he wills to be a great painter he is one, but in four-fifths of his work he shows himself as a man who, above all else, desires to express himself originally and dramatically, and uses the palette and brush as his means for expression. In a word, what he cares for most is not, as with Titian, the wonder of color; not, as with Michelangelo, the wonder of man's body; not, as with Rembrandt, the wonder of light, but rather the wonder of telling a grand story in a grand way. It must be admitted that he always succeeds here in being different from other men, and not infrequently succeeds in being grand. But in counting this success we must account also its penalty. The volume of Tintoretto's work far exceeds that of any other Italian. Venice alone contains six vast canvases in the Redentore, nearly fifty of them at San Rocco, huge pictures at the Orto, the Academy, the Ducal Palace, and others scattered throughout the city in churches and palaces. In all this great volume of work the Miracle of Saint Mark, the four pictures of the *Anticollegio* in the Ducal Palace, the St. Agnes of the Orto, the Visitation at San Rocco, the Crucifixions at San Cassiano and San Rocco, the work in the Mater Domini, and certain portraits and smaller canvases stand out as the only pictures which are at once and intrinsically satisfying. Before all the others one has to reason, saying that in *spite* of this and that, they are admirable. Chiaroscuro is with Tintoretto an ever-present pictorial adjunct; he used it as much as do Correggio and Rembrandt, but how differently! With Correggio light is an irradiating presence, with Rembrandt it is a penetrating mystery. With Tintoretto it is the first and most powerful of dramatic accessories, he makes the light an *actor* in his vast compositions, he bands the powerful bodies of his Graces in the *Anticollegio* with bars of shade, and laces the marble flooring in his Massacre of the Innocents with broad, ruddy shadows that look like blood. Often this chiaroscuro is grand, again it is ghostly, as in the Jordan or the Emmaus, but it is so frequently and sometimes so hastily employed that in many cases it becomes tiresome and trivial. Tintoretto is original, first in the presentation of his subject, and secondly by this lighting, this chiaroscuro. In either case he tries to find a different point of view from that of any other artist, and he usually does find it with singular felicity and occupy it with remarkable power. This first quality, dramatic narration, is quite as much literary as artistic, and though lighting may be purely plastic and artistic, Tintoretto uses it also rather dramatically than plastically, that is to say, light to him is not so much a means for making a body round and tangible, as for spotting out a composition in such a manner that it shall impress us in a new way.

The Italians said that Tintoretto had three manners, one of gold, one of silver, one of iron; this applies with perfect truth to the master's color. Such pictures as the Miracle of St. Mark, the beautiful Salutation above the staircase at San Rocco, or above all, the Saint Agnes in the Madonna dell' Orto have come from the master's golden pencil; his silver manner is as good as, and more original than, the first, and comprises such pictures as the mythological scenes in the *Anticollegio* of the Ducal Palace and the Crucifixion in San Cassiano, assuredly one of the greatest

of Tintoretto's works. The iron manner is the most diffused. Had Tintoretto been content with the pictures mentioned above (and with such may be included certain other admirable works in Continental or Italian museums and churches) he would still have ranked among the greatest masters, and with far less question, far less negative addition to his fame than that which has been given by the vast surface of canvas at San Rocco, both in the church and Scuola, at San Giorgio Maggiore, and the Orto. These are the pictures of which Vasari has said that when examined minutely they have all the appearance of having been painted as a jest. To day, whether by action of the weather, by defective pigment from over-painting and so-called restoration, or by fault of the artist himself, the color of these huge canvases is black, coarse, repulsive; perhaps if we could see them better we should recognize the good that is under the deteriorated surface. Some of these still have fine passages of color here and there, but we must not forget that Vasari condemned them already when they had but just left the artist's brush, and we need not take offence at his expression of "examined minutely," for Giorgio had plenty of appreciation and praise for Titian's breadth and Veronese's sweeping touch. It will hardly do to impute this black and repellent character of the color to haste on Tintoretto's part; haste might be accountable for a somewhat vulgar alternation of pinks and blues, but a single slight painting with good pigment would result rather in a relatively good preservation of the color, or at the worst in a fading of the same; blackness is more likely to come from over-painting, bad pigment, or imperfect preparation of the canvas. However that may be, Tintoretto, who could be great technically, neglects *technique* in a large part of his work, and he is therefore neglected in turn by the art-student, who studies rather Titian or Veronese. But Tintoretto remains a grand poet and dramatist; "in the purities and sublimities of the prophet's soul," says Symonds, "neither Veronese nor yet Titian can approach him."

BALDASSARE PERUZZI, SIENESE PAINTER AND ARCHITECT

[Born 1481; died 1536]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Suys and Haudebourt, *Palais Massimi à Rome*, Paris, 1818 (folio, with plates). G. Frizzoni, *Delle Pitture di Baldassare Peruzzi, Il Buonarroti*, March, 1869. See also in *L'Arte Italiana del Rinascimento*. R. Redtenbacher, *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung Architektonischer Handzeichnungen in der Gallerie der Uffizien zu Florenz*, I. *Baldassare Peruzzi und Seine Werke*, Carlsruhe, 1875. Donati, *Elogio di Baldassare Peruzzi*, Siena, 1879. D. Gnoli, *I Sepolcri di Maria Bibiena di Baldassare Peruzzi*, *L'Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, I., p. 142. R. Förster, *Farnesina Studien*, Rostock, 1880. Cugnoni, *Agostino Chigi il Magnifico*, Rome, 1881. H. von Geymüller, *Raffaello studiato come architetto*, Milan, 1884. A. Venturi, The Farnesina, Italian and English editions, Rome, 1891. Weese, *Baldassarre Peruzzi's Anteil an dem Malerischen Schmucke der Villa Farnesina, nebst einem Anhange "Il taccuino di Baldassare Peruzzi" in der Communal Bibliothek zu Siena*, Leipsic, 1894.

AMONG all the gifts which Heaven confers on mortals, there is none which can be or justly ought to be held in higher esteem than elevation of the mind, with quiet and peace of soul; for by the first man is rendered immortal, and with the second he may truly be accounted blessed. He then who is thus endowed should not only render great and perpetual thankfulness to God, but is bound to show himself among his fellow-men, as it were a light amidst darkness, and so it is that in our own times we have seen done by the Sienese painter and architect, Baldassare Peruzzi. Of him it may truly be affirmed, that the modesty and goodness so beautifully exemplified in his life, were possessed to such a degree, as to form no mean part of that supreme tranquillity and peace of mind, for which all men who think must needs sigh, and towards which all should constantly aspire; while the works which

he has left to us are manifest and honourable fruits of that true genius, which was breathed into his mind by Heaven itself.

I have called him above, Baldassare of Siena, because he was always considered a Sienese, but I will not omit to mention, that as seven cities contended for Homer, each desiring to claim him for her citizen, so have three most noble cities of Tuscany, Florence, Volterra, and Siena, namely, all maintained, each for herself, that Baldassare was of the number of her sons.[1] But to tell all the truth of this matter, every one of them has part in him, seeing that at the time when Florence was distracted by wars, the father of Baldassare, Antonio Peruzzi,[2] a noble citizen of Florence, changed his abode, in the hope of living more quietly, and went to dwell in Volterra.[3] Having remained there a certain number of years, he then took a wife in that city; this happened in the year 1482, and in a few years two children were born to him; one, a boy, called Baldassare; the other a girl, named Virginia. Now it chanced, that while thus desiring only peace and quiet, Antonio was nevertheless pursued by the evils of war; Volterra being sacked, he was compelled to take refuge in Siena,[4] and there, having lost nearly all that he possessed,

[1] The researches of Milanesi were exceptionally exhaustive in the case of his great compatriot Baldassare Peruzzi, and the notes for this life have been drawn far more generally from the pages of that author than have those in the lives of artists of other cities than Siena. In Vasari's Lives the biographies of Peruzzi and Antonio da San Gallo precede the Life of Sebastian del Piombo, but there is nothing unchronological in placing them in the present order as both men were contemporaries of Michelangelo, Titian, Tintoretto, and Sansovino. Baldassare di Giovanni di Salvestro di Salvadore Peruzzi, as appears in Sienese documents, was born in Siena, March 7, 1480 (1481 common style). His father, Giovanni di Salvestro di Salvadore Peruzzi, was a weaver of Volterra, and was not connected with the noble Florentine family of the Peruzzi.

[2] See note 1.

[3] See note 1.

[4] He did not leave Volterra till at least three years after the sack, though the latter, by the destruction of trade, was the probable cause of his departure.

he found himself reduced to live in a somewhat poor fashion.

Baldassare, meanwhile, was increasing in stature, and early gave token of the pleasure he found in the society of good and distinguished men ; more especially delighting to frequent the workshops of the goldsmiths and others, who practised the arts of design. Wherefore, eventually finding these arts please him, he gave all his attention to drawing, and his father dying about that period, Baldassare devoted himself to the study of painting with so much zeal that in a very short time he made the most extraordinary progress. Copying and imitating the works of the best masters, he yet gave his principal attention to nature and living objects, and thus early acquiring some little gain by his art, he found means to support himself while he aided his mother and sister, pursuing his studies in painting at the same time.

Among the first works of Baldasarre (omitting to mention some few performed in Siena,[5] which do not require more particular notice), was a small chapel near the Florentine Gate of Volterra ; here he painted certain figures with infinite grace, and these were the cause of a friendship which he contracted with the painter Piero of Volterra,[6] who dwelt for the most part in Rome, where he was employed in the execution of various works in the papal Palace, for Pope Alessandro VI. Baldassare consequently repaired with Piero to Rome, but Alessandro being dead, and Piero no longer finding employment in the Palace, Baldassare placed himself in the workshop of the father of Maturino,[7] a painter of no great excellence, but who, at that period, was nevertheless much employed in the more ordinary labours of our avocation, and had always many works on hand.

[5] He was the assistant of Pinturicchio when the latter, in 1501, painted it the chapel of San Giovanni in the cathedral.

[6] Pietro di Andrea da Volterra.

[7] Vasari has given a life of this master.

This artist, therefore, having placed before Baldassare a panel, the ground of which had been duly prepared, bade him paint thereon a figure of Our Lady, but without giving him a cartoon or design of any kind. Baldassare, nevertheless, having taken a piece of chalk, in a moment and with great ability, designed such a figure as he proposed to paint, and having shortly after taken the colours in hand, in a few days he produced a picture so beautiful and so admirably finished, that he caused astonishment, not only in the master of the bottega or workshop, but also in many painters who saw the work and at once perceived its merit. These artists, therefore, procured for Baldassare a commission to paint the chapel of the High Altar in the church of Sant' Onofrio, and this work he executed in fresco in a very beautiful manner, and with infinite grace.[8]

Having finished his undertaking in the chapel of Sant' Onofrio, our artist next painted two small chapels in the church of San Rocco-a-Ripa,[9] whereupon, being now in considerable credit, he was invited to Ostia, where he decorated certain apartments in the tower of the fortress, with very beautifully executed historical representations in chiaroscuro. Among these are more particularly to be mentioned one of those hand to hand combats, in the manner customary among the ancients; with a body of soldiers also, the latter proceeding to attack a fort. In this last the bold and prompt action of the warriors is particularly to be observed; covered with their shields, they advance the scaling ladders which the assailants are placing against the walls, while those within repulse them with fearful rage; there are also numerous instruments of war in this story, of the fashion used in ancient times, with armour of sim-

[8] Peruzzi painted the choir throughout, although Titi, by an error, ascribes part of the paintings to Pinturicchio, Milanesi, IV., p. 591, note 2. See also G. Frizzoni, *Delle Pitture di Baldassare Peruzzi*, article in *Il Buonarroti*, 1869.

[9] The paintings in the chapel of the Presepio remain, but are greatly altered by the retouching of Baciccio. Peruzzi also designed the vaulting-mosaics of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (1500).

ilar character. Baldassare likewise painted many other stories in one of the halls of that fortress, and these are held to be among his best works; but it must be observed that he was assisted in their execution by Cesare of Milan.[10]

On the completion of these labours Baldassare returned to Rome, where he contracted a most intimate friendship with Agostino Chigi of Siena, who received him to his intimacy not only because Baldassare considered himself a Sienese, but also because Agostino was by nature the friend of all distinguished men. With the assistance of such a man as Agostino Chigi, Baldassare found means to afford himself leisure for remaining during some time in Rome, occupied solely with the study and examination of the antiquities, but more particularly of those relating to architecture. In this vocation, emulous of Bramante, Baldassare made extraordinary progress in a very short time, which was afterwards, as we shall relate in due course, the cause of very great honour as well as profit to him; he gave considerable attention to the study of perspective also, and became so highly distinguished by his attainments therein, that very few who have laboured in our times can be named as his equals; the effect of this acquirement may be clearly perceived in all his works.

Pope Julius II. meanwhile, having built a corridor to his palace, with an aviary almost at the level of the roof, Baldassare was commissioned to depict all the months of the year therein; with the occupations proper to each month throughout the year: in this series of paintings, which is in chiaroscuro, we have innumerable edifices, theatres, amphitheatres, palaces, and other buildings, all showing admirable invention, and each occupying an appropriate position in the work.[11] Baldassare painted several apartments in the palace of San Giorgio,[12] for the Cardinal Raffaello Riario, Bishop of Ostia; this he did in company

[10] Cesare da Sesto, scholar of Leonardo da Vinci.
[11] These works have disappeared.
[12] These works have disappeared.

with other painters. On a façade which is opposite to the palace of Messer Ulisse da Fano, this master also executed various paintings; as he did on that of Messer Ulisse's own house, whereon he delineated stories from the life of Ulysses, and by this work he greatly increased his name and reputation.[12]

But still higher was the glory which he obtained for the model of a palace, prepared for Agostino Chigi,[14] and which he executed in the graceful manner we now see. This edifice should rather be described as a thing born, than as one merely built: the exterior decorations are in *terretta*, and exhibit very beautiful historical representations, executed by Baldassare with his own hand. The hall of this palace is also adorned by this master, who painted columns in perspective therein, the depth of the intercolumniation causing it to appear much larger than it really is. But the most remarkable part of this work, and a subject of deserved admiration, is the Loggia of the garden, wherein Baldassare has painted stories representing Medusa turning men into stone, and than which nothing more beautiful could possibly be imagined; near this we have Perseus striking off the head of the monster, with other paintings in the angles of the ceiling. The decorations of this Loggia are painted in perspective to imitate stucco-work, and this is done so perfectly with the colours, that even experienced artists have taken them to be works in relief. I remember that the Cavalier Tizian, a most excellent and renowned painter, whom I conducted to see these works, could by no means be persuaded that they were painted,

[13] Milanesi, IV., p. 593, note 3, cites a drawing in chiaroscuro touched up with white, and representing the ornamented *façade* of a palace; it is in the Uffizi.

[14] This was the Farnesina, which has been ascribed to both Raphael and Peruzzi; Milanesi attributing it to Peruzzi and Baron H. von Geymüller to Raphael. Cugnoni cites documents showing that it was completed in 1510, and in 1511, two poets, Egidio Gallo and Pallodio Blosio, celebrated it in verse. A pen-drawing of the Farnesina, in the Uffizi, is reproduced by Baron von Geymüller.

and remained in astonishment, when on changing his point of view he perceived that they were so.[15]

In the same palace there are certain paintings executed by Fra Sebastiano Veneziano,[16] in his first manner; and by the hand of the divine Raffaello there is the Galatea carried off by Marine Deities, as we have before said.

Between the Campo di Fiore and the Piazza Giudea, Baldassare painted a façade in *terretta*, which is most exquisitely beautiful, the views in perspective being truly admirable; this he did, receiving a commission to that effect from one of the Pope's Chamberlains, but the palace is now in the possession of the Florentine Jacopo Strozzi. In the church of the Pace, this master likewise painted a chapel for Messer Ferrando Pozetti, who was afterwards made a Cardinal; this is on the right of the entrance to the church; the subjects chosen are events from the Old Testament,[17] the figures of which are small; but there are besides, other figures, which are of considerable size; the whole work is in fresco, and is executed with much care. But even more remarkably has Baldassare shown the extent of his ability in painting and perspective, by certain pictures in the same church and near the high altar, where he depicted a story for Messer Filippo da Siena, one of the Clerks of the Chamber, representing Our Lady ascending the steps of the Temple, and about to enter that edifice.[18] In this picture there are many figures highly worthy of praise; among others, that of a noble personage arrayed in the ancient manner, and who, descending from his horse, while his servants wait around, presents alms to a poor

[15] The painted decorations are still in good preservation. Titian (here referred to) was created cavalier (Knight of the Golden Spur) and Count Palatine by Charles V.

[16] Sebastian del Piombo.

[17] There are stories from the Old and New Testaments (painted 1516), and a fresco at the high altar representing the Virgin enthroned with Saints Brigida and Catherine of Alexandria at right and left, and with Pozetti the donor kneeling before them.

[18] This picture, painted for Filippo Sergardi of Siena, has been much retouched.

wretched beggar, totally naked and grievously attenuated, who appears to be entreating charity with the most eager importunity. In this work, also, there is a great variety of buildings, with many very beautiful ornaments of different kinds; the painting, which is in fresco, counterfeits, in like manner with that above-mentioned, decorations in stucco, which go entirely around the whole, and it furthermore appears to be affixed to the wall by means of large nails, as if it were a panel painted in oil.

Among the magnificent preparations made by the Roman people to receive the Duke Giuliano de' Medici,[19] when the baton of a Commander was conferred on him by Holy Church, were six historical representations, in as many pictures, executed by six different painters, who were all artists of eminence. One of these was by the hand of Baldassare; it was seven *canne*[20] high, and three and a half broad, the subject chosen, being the betrayal of the Romans by Julia Tarpeia;[21] and this was acknowledged to be, without doubt, the best of them all. But that which awakened astonishment in every beholder was the perspective view or scene which this master prepared for the Theatre, and which was so beautiful that nothing better could possibly be imagined. Such, indeed, were the variety and admirable manner of the buildings, the beauty of the loggie, the fancy exhibited in the doors and windows, the rich arrangement of all the other architectural details, with the remarkable

[19] In 1515.

[20] About twenty-eight feet.

[21] Certain frescoes representing scenes from Roman history painted in the Palazzo de' Conservatori in Rome have been assigned to Peruzzi by Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni in an article published in *Il Buonarroti*, March, 1871. The frescoes, which have been greatly retouched, are in the two halls called of "the *Fastes*" and "of the Punic Wars." This second hall has four great frescoes, which the Roman municipality for a long time ascribed to Benedetto Buonfigli of Perugia. The nearly ruined frescoes of the Hall of the *Fastes*, representing the Triumph of the Kings of Rome, were for some time accredited to Botticelli. Dr. Frizzoni also claims for Peruzzi a design in the Louvre, a Triumph of a Roman Emperor, reproduced by Marco Antonio Raimondi, whose engraving has been called by some critics a copy from Mantegna, by others a copy from Francia. See Milanesi, IV., p. 595, note 3.

judgment and extraordinary power of invention manifest throughout the whole work, that it would not be possible to describe the thousandth part.

For Messer Francesco da Norcia, Baldassare designed a portal of the Doric order, which was an exceedingly graceful composition : this the master erected in the house of Messer Francesco, which is on the Piazza of the Farnesi. He also painted a very beautiful façade, near the Piazza degli Altieri for Messer Francesco Buzio,[22] depicting on the frieze, from the life, all the Cardinals who were then living ; while on the wall itself he executed historical scenes, which represented the Cæsars receiving tribute from all the kingdoms of the world ; above these stories our artist painted the twelve Emperors, placed on corbels ; they are foreshortened with much judgment, and executed with remarkable ability ; for the whole work, indeed, the master well merits the highest praise. Baldassare, furthermore, painted an Escutcheon,[23] exhibiting the Arms of Pope Leo X., near the Banchi, with three Boys as supporters. This is in fresco, and the flesh of the children is painted with so much softness, that they seem to be alive.

For Fra Mariano Fetti, Frate of the Piombo, this master painted a San Bernardo in *terretta ;* this figure, which is one of great beauty, was executed for the garden of Monte Cavallo.[24] For the Brotherhood of Santa Caterina of Siena, whose house is in the Strada Giulia, Baldassare painted an exceedingly beautiful Bier,[25] for the removal of the dead to the place of their burial, with many other works, all of which are worthy of commendation.

In Siena, Baldassare Peruzzi prepared the design for the Organ which is in the church of the Carmine ;[26] and he

[22] These works no longer exist.

[23] These works have disappeared.

[24] These works have disappeared.

[25] Milanesi, IV., p. 597, note 1, says that Fabio Chigi, afterward Pope Alexander VII., mentioned this bier in his *Commentario di Agostino Chigi.*

[26] The unpublished Sienese Guide (1625) of Fabio Chigi says that Peruzzi painted the chiaroscuro ornament on the organ, not that he designed the latter.

likewise executed some other works in that city, but they were not of any great importance.

Being subsequently invited to Bologna, by the wardens of works to the church of San Petronio, to the end that he might prepare a model for the façade of that edifice, he designed two large ground plans, with elevations and sections, one in the modern manner, the other in that of the Teutonic nations. This work is still preserved in the Sacristy of San Petronio [27] as an extraordinary production, the master having drawn the building in perspective, after such sort that the fabric appears to be in relief. In the same city there are a vast number of designs by this artist, which he made in the house of the Count Giovanni Battista Bentivogli, for the above-named church, and which are so beautiful that it would not be possible adequately to extol their merit, more especially when we consider the wonderful and admirable inventions worked out by this master, in his wish to avoid the destruction of the old building, and in the endeavour to conjoin the new part with just and fair proportion to what remained of the old. For the Count Battista above-named, Baldassare made a design in chiaro-scuro,[28] representing the Nativity of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi: the

[27] He was especially asked to design the vaulting, cupola, and doors of San Petronio. See *Il Giornale della Fabbrica*, 1520–27, published by Gaye, *Carteggio*, II., pp. 153, 154. A beautiful drawing for a *façade* in the Gothic style still exists, and it is proved that Peruzzi executed others still; see Gaye, *Carteggio*, III., p. 480, and II., pp. 152, 153. The Palazzo Albergati in Bologna, and also the one now called dei Fioresi, are said by il Lamo (*Graticola di Bologna*, 1560) to be by Peruzzi. See a long note in Milanesi, IV., p. 597.

[28] This chiaroscuro design is in the National Gallery, London, where it is ascribed to Peruzzi. It was given by Lord Vernon in 1839. An Adoration of the Magi painted on wood is also in the National Gallery, London, and is *ascribed* to Peruzzi; "the figures of the three Magi are interesting as having been portraits of Titian, Raphael, and Michelangelo."—Cook's Handbook to the National Gallery, p. 40. The painting executed from Peruzzi's cartoon by Girolamo da Treviso is believed by some critics to be lost. It is suggested (on p. 40 of the handbook cited above) that the work in the National Gallery may be this copy. The official catalogue of the National Gallery admits this hypothesis, and adds that it is possible that it is a copy made by Bartolommeo Cesi, formerly in the possession of the Rizzardi family of Bologna.

horses, chariots, and all else belonging to the Courts of the Three Kings are wonderful to behold; with such admirable grace and beauty are they depicted, as are also the architectural details of the temples and other buildings, by which the cabin is surrounded. The Count caused that work to be subsequently coloured by Girolamo Trevigi, who performed his part to great perfection.[29]

The design for the portal of the church of San Michele in Bosco, a very beautiful monastery outside Bologna, which belongs to the Monks of Monte Oliveto,[30] was prepared by this master; as were also the design and model for the Cathedral of Carpi,[31] which was exceedingly beautiful; the structure was built under the direction of Baldassare, and according to the rules laid down by Vitruvius. In the same city our artist commenced the church of San Niccolò;[32] but this building was not completed at that time, the master having been almost compelled to return to Siena, whither he was summoned to prepare designs for the fortifications of the city, and those defences were then constructed under his direction.[33]

This undertaking being completed, Baldassare once more repaired to Rome, where he built a house opposite to the Farnese Palace, with others in the centre of the city. He was also employed on many occasions by Pope Leo X., more particularly when that Pontiff, desiring to bring the church of San Pietro, which had been commenced by Julius II.

[29] Girolamo Trevigi was a painter and also a military architect.

[30] Still existing, although the monastery has been suppressed.

[31] Though no documents confirm it, this assertion seems probable to Milanesi.

[32] It is likely that Peruzzi may have made some designs which accompanied the second period of construction of San Niccolò (when the *façade* and anterior portion of the church were built), 1517–20, but he did no work connected with the first period of construction, 1493–1508. Peruzzi was in Bologna in 1522, the year in which San Niccolò was finished. See a long note in Milanesi, IV., p. 598, note 3.

[33] It is believed by some critics that Peruzzi made the designs for the two oratories (della Rotonda, 1511, and della Sagra, 1515) in Carpi as well as the fortifications of Siena mentioned by Vasari. See Giuseppe Campori, *Gli Artisti Italiani e stranieri negli Stati Estensi*, p. 353.

after the design of Bramante, to a conclusion, and finding the edifice too large, resolved to have a new model constructed. His Holiness was of opinion, that the various parts of that vast fabric were not in harmony with each other; wherefore he committed the work to Baldassare, who prepared a new model, which is truly ingenious, and of very magnificent character; it gives proof of so much judgment also, that succeeding architects have frequently availed themselves of many parts thereof.[34] Diligent and judicious, this master brought his works so successfully to completion, that he may truly be said never to have had his equal in architecture, and this principally because he combined with his knowledge of that art, so beautiful and admirable a manner in painting and decoration. The design for the tomb of Pope Adrian VI. was given by Baldassare,[35] and the paintings around it are also by his hand, but the marble work of the sepulchre was executed by the Sienese sculptor, Michelagnolo, assisted only by Peruzzi.

When the Calandra,[36] a drama written by the Cardinal di Bibiena, was performed before Pope Leo, Baldassare prepared all the scenic arrangements for that spectacle in a manner no less beautiful, nay rather it was much more so, than he had exhibited on the occasion referred to above; and his labours of this kind deserve all the more praise from the fact that these performances of the theatre, and consequently all required for their representation, had long been out of use, the festivals and sacred dramas having taken their place. But either before or after the represen-

[34] After the death of Raphael, Peruzzi was elected *capo-maestro* of the works of St. Peter's, and he held that office from August 1, 1520, to May 6, 1527; again from 1530 to 1531, and finally from 1535 to January 6, 1536, the date of his death.

[35] This tomb of the Flemish Pope Adrian, in the church of S. Maria dell' Anima, ordered by Cardinal Enckenvoirt, was finished in 1529; the paintings represented Saints Bennone and Antonino, both canonized by Pope Adrian.

[36] The Calandra was the first prose comedy given in Italy in the vulgar tongue. It is an Italianization of the plot and characters of Plautus's *Menæchmi*, and its name was derived from that of one of the *dramatis personæ*, Calandro, a simpleton of the Calandrino type.

tation of the Calandra, which was one of the first comedies seen or recited in the vulgar tongue, in the time of Pope Leo X. that is to say, Baldassare painted two of these scenic decorations, which was surprisingly beautiful, and opened the way to those of a similar kind, which have been made in our own day. Now it appears to me difficult even to imagine how this artist has found it possible, within the closely limited space to which he was restricted, how he has found it possible, I say, to exhibit such a variety of objects as he has depicted, such a number of streets, palaces, temples, loggie, and fanciful erections of all kinds, with cornices and ornaments of every sort, so perfectly represented that they do not look like things feigned, but are as the living reality : neither does the piazza, which is the site of all these edifices, appear to be, as it is, a narrow space merely painted, but looks entirely real and of noble extent. In the arrangement of the lights also, Baldassare showed equal ability, in those of the interior, which are designed to enhance the effect of the views in perspective, more especially ; every other requisite, demanded for the occasion was added with similar judgment ; and this is the more remarkable, because the habit of preparing such things had, as I have said, been totally lost. This kind of entertainment is nevertheless superior in my opinion to those of every other character, when it has all the appliances required for its perfection, surpassing them all by very far, however sumptuous and magnificent they may be.

In the year 1524,[37] Clement VII. was elected Pope, when Baldassare made the preparations for his coronation. The façade of the principal chapel also, which had been commenced by Bramante, was completed by Baldassare, who constructed it in Peperino marble. In the Chapel wherein the bronze monument of Pope Sixtus is placed, this master painted in chiaroscuro the Apostles,[38] which are in the

[37] November 19, 1523.

[38] Only the St. Peter has been saved and sawn from the wall ; it is now in the *Grotte Scure* of the Vatican. See Milanesi, IV., p. 601, note 2.

niches behind the altar; he likewise gave the design for the tabernacle of the sacrament, which is a very graceful work.[39]

Then came the deplorable sack and plunder of Rome, in the year 1527, and the unfortunate Baldassare was made prisoner by the Spaniards; when not only did he lose all that he possessed, but he was also grievously maltreated and tormented by them: for it so chanced that Baldassare, being a man of a noble, grave, and commanding aspect, was believed by them to be some great prelate or other man of high rank in disguise, and one who could pay an enormous ransom.[40] Finally, however, those most impious barbarians discovered that he was indeed a painter, and one of them, who was a devoted adherent of the Constable de Bourbon, compelled our artist to take the portrait of that reprobate commander, the enemy of God and of all good men; either by showing him his corpse, dead as he was, or by some other means, perhaps by giving him drawings of the face or describing it in words: enough, they compelled him to make the portrait.

Having escaped at length from the hands of the Spaniards, Baldassare took ship to go to Port' Ercole, proposing to proceed thence to Siena; but on the way he was so effectually plundered, so completely stripped, and despoiled of every thing, that he entered Siena deprived of all but his shirt. He was nevertheless honourably received and clothed anew by his friends;[41] nor did any long time elapse before he entered the service of the Republic, and was appointed superintendent of all works connected with the fortifications of the city.[42] While thus residing in Siena,

[39] This tabernacle was destroyed and replaced by that of Bernini.

[40] There is in the archives of Siena a document showing an indebtedness of Peruzzi for moneys borrowed in reference to this ransom. See Milanesi, IV., p. 601, note 4.

[41] The Sienese people and council determined that in order to keep so valuable a man as Baldassare in Siena he should be made architect of the city, "*Architetto del Pubblico*," for two years, 1527–29. In 1531 he again held the office, when his salary was doubled.

[42] In 1527–29 he built seven towers, of which two remain, that of the Porta Laterina, and that of San Viene (or Pispini); the latter has been much altered.

two sons were born to Baldassare ; he was employed, as we have said, in the public service,[43] and made numerous designs moreover in the houses of his fellow-citizens, as he did that for the organ of the Church of the Carmine,[44] which is exceedingly beautiful.

The Imperial and Papal armies had meanwhile advanced to the siege of Florence, when his Holiness despatched Baldassare to the camp, there to give his aid to the Commissary, Baccio Valori, who was commanded to avail himself of the judgment and counsels of Baldassare in the services of the siege, and for the more effectual investment of the city. But Baldassare, esteeming the liberty of his ancient fatherland beyond all the favour of the Pope, was not to be prevailed on to lend his assistance in any affair of moment, nor was he to be alarmed in any manner by the indignation even of that great Pontiff, who, perceiving this, bore him no little ill-will for a considerable space of time.[45]

The war being ultimately brought to an end, Baldassare would fain have returned to Rome, wherefore the Cardinals Salviati, Trivulzi, and Cesarino, whom our artist had on many occasions very faithfully served, made such efforts in his behalf, that they succeeded in reinstating him in the favour of the Pope ; he was thus permitted freely to return to Rome, and was even replaced in the appointments he had previously held. Nor had he been many days in the city before he commenced the preparation of designs for two

[43] Giovanni Sallustio, or Salvestro (see note 50), became an architect, Onofrio a painter and a Dominican monk.—Milanesi, IV., p. 602, note 3.

[44] According to Milanesi, IV., p. 602, note 4, Peruzzi may have built or designed the cloister and campanile of the Carmine, the door of the Santo Spirito, the private palaces of the Mocenni near the Lizza, and of the Celsi (now of the Pollini), and the villa of Belcaro. He is proved to be the designer of the Rocca of Caprarola (Vignole designed the villa), accredited by Vasari to Antonio da San Gallo the Younger, was *capo-maestro* of the Cathedral of Siena, and designed the main doors and the high altar (1532).

[45] This is untrue. Gaye (*Carteggio*) has published a letter of October 20, 1529, from Baldassare to the Sienese Government, stating that the Poggio Imperiale could easily be seized and the whole Valdelsa occupied by the Papal troops. In a word, the Sienese Peruzzi took part with Siena.

beautiful palaces, commanded by the Signori Orsini, and which were erected on the road leading to Viterbo: he also designed other edifices to be constructed in Apuglia.

Baldassare did not neglect, meanwhile, the study of astrology, in which he greatly delighted, nor that of the mathematics, and others in which he took pleasure. He also commenced a book on the Antiquities of Rome, with a Commentary on Vitruvius, gradually preparing the designs that is to say, in illustration of that author's writings, some part of which commencement is now to be seen in the possession of Francesco da Siena,[46] who was his disciple. Among these are designs after the ancient manner, as well as others proper to the modern mode of building.

While thus sojourning in Rome, Baldassare prepared the design for the palace of the Massimi family:[47] the plan of this building is of an oval form, and the edifice is in a new as well as very beautiful manner; the principal façade is enriched by a vestibule of Doric columns, admirable for the justice of the proportions, and proving much knowledge of art on the part of the master: equally beautiful in the distribution of the interior quadrangle; and the flight of steps by which the chief entrance is gained deserves the utmost commendation; but this building Baldassare could not finish, having been overtaken by death before its completion.[48]

But notwithstanding the great talents of this noble artist, his numerous works availed but little to his own advantage, however useful to others. It is true that he was employed by Popes, Cardinals, and other great and rich personages, but no one of them ever conferred on him any

[46] It is not known who this Francesco was.

[47] The Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne, called by critics one of the noblest and most elegant palaces of the Renaissance.

[48] Serlio says that Baldassare, in excavating for the first Massimi palace, (once of the Savelli, now of the Orsini) found many fragments of ornament from the theatre of Marcellus and learned so much concerning it that he was able to make the ground-plan given by Serlio (*Libro* III. *dell' architectura*). In Vol. CCIX. of the architectonic designs (Gallery of Florence) are twelve drawings of the theatre of Marcellus.

real and effectual benefit; yet this may very possibly have happened, not so much from the want of liberality in those nobles (although they are for the most part ever most open-handed in cases where they should be least so), as from the timidity and excessive modesty, or to say what in this case was the fact—the simplicity and faint-heartedness of Baldassare.[49] But it is certain that by as much as all should be discreet and moderate in respect of princes who are magnanimous and liberal, by so much is it needful to be importunate and pressing towards those who are avaricious, ungrateful, and discourteous; for inasmuch as an unremitting demand would be an unpardonable error, nay a vice, if applied to the upright and liberal, insomuch is it a virtue when practised against the mean and avaricious; nay, to be modest with such people is an absurdity and a wrong. Baldassare thus found himself very poor as age came on, and was beside, burdened with a family: finally, after having always lived a most upright and honourable life, he fell grievously sick, and was obliged to confine himself to his bed: hearing which, and, when too late, perceiving the loss he was about to incur by the death of such a man, Pope Paul III. sent him one hundred scudi by the hands of Jacopo Melighino, accountant of San Pietro, making him at the same time the most friendly offers and promises. But the illness of Baldassare increased, perhaps because it was ordained so to be, or, as some believe, because his malady was provoked, and his death hastened by the effect of a poison, administered to him by one of his rivals, who desired to succeed him in his office, from which he derived two hundred and fifty scudi per annum. The physicians did not discover this until it was too late, and Baldassare died in great sorrow; but more on account of his family and of the painful condition in which he was leaving them, than for himself.

[49] "We lament that Vasari should call that an awkward faint-heartedness, which was indeed the extreme delicacy and true modesty of this most excellent master."—Milanesi quoted by Mrs. Foster.

He was deeply mourned by his children and friends, who laid him to rest in the Rotondo near Raffaello da Urbino ; all the painters, sculptors, and architects of Rome accompanied him with tears to the grave, according to his remains the most honourable sepulture, and inscribing over them the following epitaph :—

Balthasari Perutio Senensi, viro et pictura et architectura aliisque ingeniorum artibus adeo excellenti, ut si priscorum occubuisset temporibus, nostra illum felicius legerent. vix. Ann. LV. *Mens.* XI. *Dies* XX.

Lucretia et Io. Salustius optimo conjugi et parenti, non sine lachrimis Simonis, Honorii, Claudii. Æmiliæ, ac Sulpitiæ minorum filiorum, dolentes posuerunt. Die IIII. *Januarii* MDXXXVI.[50]

The fame of Baldassare was greater after his death than during his life ;[51] more particularly were his judgment and knowledge vainly desired, when Pope Paul III. determined to cause the church of San Pietro to be completed, seeing that all then discovered how useful his assistance would have been to Antonio da San Gallo. It is true that the last named architect effected much, in accomplishing what we now possess ; but he would, nevertheless, as is believed, have seen his way more clearly through certain of the difficulties incidental to that work, had he performed his labours in company with Baldassare.

Many of the artistic effects of Baldassare were inherited by the Bolognese Sebastiano Serlio, who wrote the third book of the "Architecture," and the fourth of the "An-

[50] In Bottari's time this inscription was not in the Pantheon. According to Fea, with whom Milanesi agrees, Peruzzi died January 6, 1536. By the same document which leads Fea to this conclusion the name of Baldassare's son seems to have been not Giovanni Sallustio but Giovanni Salverio or Salvestro.

[51] Baldassare was without doubt an artist of the first rank. In painting he approached the best masters of the day ; in architecture he belonged to the greatest. Many place him before Bramante. Lomazzo calls him, "*Architetto Universale.*" In perspective he was unsurpassed, as even Milizia, who so rarely praises, admits ; "and this," observes one of his compatriots, "is sufficient to prove his merits, for never does Milizia bestow a syllable of commendation that has not been well earned."—See Milanesi.

tiquities of Rome," with their admeasurements. In these works, the results of Baldassare's studies, to which we have alluded above, were inserted in the margin, and other portions of the same were likewise of great use to the author. The writings of Baldassare on the before-mentioned subjects remained for the most part in the hands of the Ferrarese, Jacopo Melighino, who was afterwards appointed by Pope Paul III. the architect for all his buildings ; and in those of that Francesco the Sienese, whom we have before mentioned, and who was his creature and disciple. By this artist is the escutcheon of the Cardinal di Trani, in Navona, which has been very highly commended, and which is still to be seen in Rome, with certain other works, also by Francesco da Siena. It is from him that we have procured the portrait of Baldassare ; and I have likewise received many notices from him of things with which I was not acquainted, when this book was first put forth to the world.

Baldassare drew admirably well in all manners, giving proof of great judgment and infinite care in each, but more particularly with the pen, in water-colours, and in chiaroscuro.[52] Of this, numerous examples may be seen in the many drawings by this master, which are now in the possession of different artists : we have ourselves a considerable number in our book of drawings, and among them is one which is a most fanciful invention. It represents a Piazza entirely filled with arches of triumph, colossal statues, theatres, pyramids, obelisks, temples of various character, colonnades, porticoes, and other erections of similar kind, after the manner of the ancients. On a pedestal in the midst of these edifices, is a figure of Mercury, and around him are thronging all sorts of Alchymists with bellows, some large, others small, crucibles, retorts, and other instruments used in distillation, proposing to administer an enema to the end that he, the said Mercury, might be delivered from peccant

[52] Milanesi devotes some twenty-five pages to a catalogue of the drawings (mostly architectonic) by Baldassare Peruzzi which are preserved in the collection of the Uffizi.

humours. A ridiculous and fantastic delineation, but a singular idea, and very well executed.

Baldassare, who always proved himself courteous, modest, and friendly to all, was very intimate with the excellent Sienese painter, Domenico Beccafumi, as he also was with Capanna, who executed many paintings in Siena; among them the façade of the Turchi, and that of another building on the Piazza.[53]

[53] M. Müntz calls Baldassare Peruzzi the most elegant, refined, and original of all the architects who during the first third of the sixteenth century sought fortune in Rome, but he further concludes that Peruzzi's native modesty or timidity prevented his giving full scope to his talent. In the early sixteenth century the conditions which governed material success were wholly different from those which obtained in the fifteenth century. Even in the late *quattrocento* a great number of artists of nearly equal talent served a correspondingly large number of patrons. In the first years of the sixteenth century art was centralized in Rome almost as completely as were politics. Only to him who served the master, that is, the pope, was it given to transcend. The pope wanted a *major-domo* of the arts, a man who should be an imperator in his way. Raphael for all his gentleness was such a man by reason of his tremendous capacity for work and assimilation, and Michelangelo was such another by the indomitable energy which enforced his mighty genius. Neither Del Sarto, Bartolommeo, or Peruzzi lacked personality in their art, but they were not great enough to rise above the overshadowing influence of the two geniuses who were working upon the walls of the Sistina and the *Stanze*. Thus in architecture (as in painting) Peruzzi, the author of so many works of so high an average of excellence, was like Antonio da San Gallo the Younger and like many another Tuscan architect thrown into the background by the ever-heightening and broadening reputation of Buonarroti, who forced himself to the front in every sphere of artistic activity and who (save in the provinces of color and of portraiture—provinces which Peruzzi too hardly entered) set his personal seal upon every kind of Tuscan art. Peruzzi's relations with the building of St. Peter's fell upon ill-starred years of war and sack and pillage, so that financial and other difficulties did much to neutralize his progress, but he has left other important works in Rome, in the Massimi Palace, in Bologna, in the Albergati; while in Siena and other Tuscan cities there remains much to recall him both as painter and architect.